

EXCLUSIVE

**'I stole \$100 million
from Ottawa'**

— A BUREAUCRAT TELLS ALL P.22

IRAN

HOW TO
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P.28



**The other
genius
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24 SUSSEX
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P.12**

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FASCIST FOLLIES

WHILE I NORMALLY sit at a desk with dear Mark Steyn at a computer and write, that time he actually made quite a mistake or two ("Why this fascist are winning in Europe," World, June 22). Just because the UK Independence Party advocates withdrawal from the European Union, that does not make it a fascist party. It is usually considered to be a splinter that broke from the Conservatives. The UKIP is as much a part of the ideological centre-right as the U.K. Conservatives or Germany's Christian Democratic Union or France's Union for a Popular Movement. The only reason why the UKIP doesn't sit with these parties at a table is, obviously, because of the degree at European immigration they stand for. Further more, the British National Party won only 6.1 per cent of the vote, far less than that of the authoritarian parties of the rest of Europe, and it's stretch to call them a fascist party. Right, yes. To be a fascist party they must advocate organized violence, a "cult of war," as Andrew Porter once wrote in your pages (Opinion, Jan. 21, 2008), and the BNP hopes that of Bulgaria's Ataka party is its case. Britain's climate has proven for the unpopularity that it would most mislead and moderate than that of those on the Continent. Crying "fascism" is a little like crying wolf and is normally a bad habit of undergird political science majors during debate. Please save the term for when we face threats from real fascists.

David Wong, Vancouver

RATHER THAN take a look at these dumb movie approach, Mark Steyn goes to how the new religion in the European Parliament is a mission to the protection of civil and center right winging. This is the kind of abuse up that politicians should take note of sometimes the people would rather elect a selfish one parliament than a selfless self who operates movie trick, thinks his religious is a lie, and enjoys making the announcements of the justice speaker. Every newspaper is words that everyone—the demot, the local politician, the community pool attendees—on its own. So does a parliament. It might actually be refreshing to have an EU-wide meeting and people who are happy when "Euro south" really means Stuart Street, Milton, Ont.

I WAS AMUSED to see that Mark Steyn's piece made it on the cover. Not only is it far from legal, perceptible, it is intellectually weak. His conspiracy-minded conclusion for the situation and shows some extravagant conclusions stemming from his own ideological superstitions than from any objective political developments. It's no secret that Steyn feels only contempt for human rights commissions, as well as any other formal institution aimed at protecting vulnerable minorities in Europe, Canada or elsewhere. But what a really honest he does do the role of so-called fascism in the European



Union discussed by the state members' crisis: is upholding human rights standards. It is also what was happening in the Roman Republic, or 1800s Italy? Steyn's future work in the subject will be well-served by some basic research on what is correctly a fascist and what is not. Not any bunch of thugs or any authoritarian movement is automatically fascist.

Amelie Mendonca, Montreal

WHAT MARK STEYN cites as unfathomable topics—immigration, welfare, crime, and Islam—are actually easy targets for the right wing in Europe and Canada. He doesn't say what the remedies should be, but he does say they involve less immigration and welfare, more jobs and greens, and the right to take a fair and a helpful position in life. It would be refreshing if he was really politically incorrect by including, for instance, the ha-

terial link between Christianity and fascism and the novel version of democracy that Islam proposes.

Dave Wouda, Fort St. John, Alta.

IRATE OVER RAIT

THAT'S no thing "hey" about my sister and countless other cancer patients waiting for testing until the merest drizzle during Natural Resources Minister Lisa Raitt and certified Health Minister Leona Goggin get their political ducks in order to make the "cancer doctors" (they're very "cancer"), Natural, June 22). When the Canadian government can't get it right for the people it's not mine to the Canadian taxpayer who assumes that those who hold the purse strings are ethical individuals working to do the good of the Canadian public. Get a grip, Canadian taxpayers. Take your cue from President Barack Obama and clean house. In this time of insolvency and accountability there are many honorable individuals I've tried to do a much better job than Lisa Raitt has done. **Laurie Smith, Del. Poir, Toronto**

CAR TROUBLE

IT SEEMS that every week Andrew Coyne is lambasting the North American auto industry for its waste and poor product. He routinely complains of the highest money and how the companies could not control their spending, and you in his June 22 column ("I brought a car and it nearly killed me," Opinion) exposes the impact of his new BNP and the Chrysler is responsible. He goes on to accuse them of being responsible to his father who always bought a Ford and followed the car America. Perhaps his father was on something, but he never mentioned it by buying a vehicle that many of us could not afford. Did his father "give up" when he bought Ford? He was a good family man among his family members? Ultimately, quality is perception. I just wonder how happy Coyne will be when his first repair bill comes in for the "Ford" "bought."

Sean Donaghy, Agat, Ont.

DIRTY BUSINESS

TO INCLUDE Steyn's essay in the "10 most socially responsible" companies (Newsweek, June 22) and not Tim Hortons is ridiculous. Starbucks may do good work overseas, but Tim Hortons' never-ending focus on its

local chapters unparalleled in corporate Canada. Maybe you think it doesn't employ enough women? I don't get it. Also, their policy of a non-unionized company is a corporate policy look good. My Golden Anniversary shirt was all made in Canada. I stopped buying them when production moved to Sri Lanka.

Rob Hynes, Windsor, Ont.

IMAGINE: Sun Life Insurance, and Phoenix Power Corp., in your list of "10 most socially responsible companies" is a big leap. Borealis and Oxy are socially responsible companies because a woman was part of the management team. Sun Life is a leading part-

"10 most socially responsible companies." Did the Juno Maclean's survey take into account the fact that, according to a recent article in the New England Journal of Medicine, Sun Life over 10 billion worth of stock in tobacco interests, including \$100 million in Philip Morris? Given the extremely poor outcomes of lung cancer patients, and the clear risk factors for heart attack and stroke caused by smoking, even seeing it may wonder if the public's money-saving strategy on their part Life insurance payouts and so be less confident than coping disability claims. In any case, I would think that a part of every smart strategy would drive

maybe we would do better to 10-year old girls with their things hanging out at the mall.

John O'Brien, Overland, Ont.

READING the article on so-called "welfare" I was reminded of the great saying by his mother: pay to me as you wish. The financial and social costs of the welfare state, how to spend money and how to act and determine a clever table. Many important was making your point in comfortable, show the success of what good intentions really are and what they do. She also taught me how to steer a group conversation around the dinner table. As business people, I sat through many business lunches and dinners, and at a new generation that seems to know nothing about how to conduct themselves at a table of 10 strangers, that you should try to engage everyone at the table on a lively discussion. Don't even get me started on their actual table manners. The employees will give the "welfare" as usual. However, if you give a person an excellent social education you will fully empower them. Just try to get over the world without love!

D.M. Mahabadi, Toronto

DEGREE OF NEED

THE ARTICLE about a recent study of the changing personal income with business degrees ("Dollar for dollar, a B.A. is better," National, June 22) seems the fundamental issue: advanced degree holders are critical to Canada's productivity, and indeed, its competitiveness—and Canada is desperately short of them. It is no wonder that the U.S. has outperformed Canada in productivity for over 30 years. We graduate, on a population basis, only 65 per cent of the master's degrees and 81 per cent of the Ph.D.s in the States. Traditionally, Canada has relied heavily on immigration to fill our labour supply, but international competition threatens Canada's ability to deliver on the increasingly sophisticated and complex needs of its knowledge economy. We need more MA and Ph.D. as well, and the return for society on the individuals themselves is high. It's important that we keep this war at the front of our minds.

Jeff Reed, Ancaster, Ont.

GOOD GRACE!

IT WOULD BE like to thank Wang Song, featured in the article "The welfare camp" for 10 years old" (Newsweek, June 22), on helping young girls deal with some drama and drama in an age of just-but-fairies and Regency manners. This camp isn't about teaching girls to use cars in petting and parks, but to help them understand themselves in a dignified manner in their day-to-day lives as adults. If more young people were taught these basic skills,



"WELFARE CAMP" great about teaching girls to vacuum in petting and parks

ner in the largest environmental disaster in Canada, the oil sands, and it has little to do with global warming or CO₂ emissions, but with the destruction of an immense piece of the boreal forest and the pollution of very substantial amounts of water. That Sun Life also makes huge amounts of core based on not only recognize the problem, at these very little if any, not in energy by making ethical, not to mention taking no steps out of food production. Phosphate is currently considered as controversial "fruit of war" project in Iraq. Inlet in B.C. Your mission is to get it done.

David Donaghy, in chair, Present Canada, New Brunswick, N.C.

WAR WATCH

SO MACLEAN'S has decided to do a weekly two-page update on the state of the economy ("Economic Watch," Business, June 22). Good idea. Let's have a weekly one-page update on the war in Afghanistan, showing the front lines, the death toll, and a "chance of success" meter. It's important that we keep this war at the front of our minds.

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mate them from any list of socially acceptable corporate causes.

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GASOLINE MATTERS

MY ARTICLE on long-term expectations of oil prices ("Energy should not be a myth," Newsweek, June 22) makes the point that much more will be forced into more efficient use of hydrocarbons. However, the reason for high oil prices will drive consumers away from hydrocarbon transportation models is quite odd and perhaps a bit naive. Too much industry depends on us to find fuel, to mine

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world's distribution infrastructure would be strong, many billions, including exorbitant air-ship costs. The real opportunity is found by making the extraction process more efficient. One of the main culprits is "Yagitive conditions," which are lost into the atmosphere during the extraction process and are an untapped resource. One of the world's most innovative solutions was invented in Calgary, which captures fugitive emissions at the source, and uses them to power the extraction process. Not only does it reduce

CO₂ footprint, it also means the following day they can be placed in donor bags, and cleaned when ready to use. They taste like fresh berries and are a good source for the middle of winter.

SO PEOPLE seriously take advice from someone who advocates drinking fake juice instead of just-squeezed, or frozen, low quality juice, instead of fresh, and doesn't even know the negative effects of margarine? I'm not saying that grocery shopping each Sage Rich



"IF PEOPLE can't afford groceries, how would they pay a grocery shopping coach?"

carbon emissions into the environment, but it's profitable! Within a year and driven down, our company costs moving forward. As you quote economist Peter Brattoloni, "Inefficiency is our greatest failing, but it also our greatest opportunity." Canada will be the dawn of necessity as and when required.

BANK ON IT

IN YOUR June 8 edition, writer Cathy Gail referred to the "Southern Grand Banks of Nova Scotia" ("Europeans catching too much cod" [Monro]). The Grand Banks belong to Newfoundland and Labrador; they always have. Certainly they won't be added to Nova Scotia during Deputy Williams' tenure.

Betty A. Wells, St. John's, NL

GROCERY SHOCK

ITMORRISSEY asked "How to save money on groceries" (Times, June 12), although I do take exception to one statement by the "grocery shopping coach": "Scratchers are the big ticket items right now but they don't directly add. You have to see there is a certain size from 'I disagree.' After I give my usual supply of delicious food, what you're concerned is your price is from for me all year. The method for success is to freeze the berries whole, with skins on, in a single layer on a cookie

is trapped, but she hasn't done her research and shouldn't be showing people how to eat. If you want to save money at the grocery store it is as simple as buying fresh food and using it all. We throw so much food away and somehow don't see that as waste. We buy things that are on sale simply because they are on sale, and then never eat them. It is easy and less expensive to eat healthy and nutritious food. Period. Being on a budget doesn't mean that you have to be unhappy.

Wesley A. Clifton, Ont.

IF PEOPLE are having trouble affording groceries, how would they be able to pay someone to tell them how to shop? And don't people going through hard times deserve fresh, quality produce? We're more, my grandmother, mom and I have always been able to tell the difference between butter and margarine in baking!

Conner Dunlop, Halifax

We welcome readers to submit letters to letters@times.ca or to Maclean's, 1155 Bloor, One Mount Pleasant Road, Toronto, Ont. M6P 1B5. Please supply your name, address and daytime telephone number. Letters should be less than 300 words, and may be edited for space, style and clarity.



P.S.

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A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF GARY BETTMAN

The NHL commissioner has had a hectic few days. At the NHL awards in Las Vegas, he addressed player representatives irked by a falling salary cap, shaky franchises and dubious TV deals. Good news came Monday when Chicago businessman Jerry Reinsdorf confirmed plans to join the Phoenix Coyotes. But within 24 hours, Bettman found himself trying to broker peace between the two leading owners of the Tampa Bay Lightning, Owen Kozaie and Len Barrie.

Good news

Shifting sands

Rising petroleum prices have powered crude into the Africa of sands, and that's good news for Canada. Yes, prices of oil rises for expensive fill-ups. But Can side needs oil patch jobs, and with a \$59-billion deficit, our government needs the tax as a crutch that oil sands generate. Moreover, plans to revive the North American auto industry are predicated on the development and sale of smaller, fuel-efficient cars, so power gas may prove to be the industry's friend. If these twin engines of our economy—energy and auto making—get running again, everyone benefits.

leged threats the rules when through the hell. Occasional grants may be unavoidable in a sport where a powerful lobby wants power. But an actual legend, Marlene Norwood is right to label the economic "cheating, pure and simple." If Marlene could win 18 Grand Slam titles without cheating, on every shot, the lesser lights can do without, too.

Cold comfort

After 100 years of Danish rule, Greenland reached a new self-

Bad news

Price of war

The Department of National Defence is awaiting Canadian peace and stability by refusing to release the estimated farm cost of a mission in Afghanistan, citing security issues. DND has already said that an end cost to the conflict are topping \$1 billion, so how does releasing the projected spending on the conflict in 2003-2012 help the "babe"? More likely military brass covered the information to bolster the security of government,

too. So when the offensively remarked that good parenting requires us parents to stay home (a considerable financial sacrifice, the note), she knew of what she spoke. Even so, expecting an opinion, not setting government policy, but you wouldn't know it from the coverage. She offered grudging apology, saying she "would have preferred not to have entered the debate" that we're glad she did, and she owes no one an apology.

FACE OF THE WEEK



RICKY BARNES IN PRIDE TO HIS SHIRT TO BE OUT ON THE FIRST HOLE OF THE U.S. Open. Lucas Glover (right) went on to win the tournament.

Aiming high

A sweeping proposal from Egypt has the potential to raise ties between Israel and the Palestinians to a new and promising level. Under Egypt's plan, an end to the blockade on Gaza would be followed by a prisoner exchange between the two sides and the formation of a Palestinian unity government, ending Hamas rule in Gaza. The deal includes safe passage to ensure aid isn't intercepted by militant groups—a major roadblock to economic development in Gaza. The approach may appear ambitious, but it addresses a persistent impediment to peace between Israel and the Palestinians: no one here has yet resolved one irritant, the agreement isn't working to reach

agreement agreement this week with Denmark, setting the stage for eventual independence. The move brings decision making on governance and natural resources closer to Greenland's 15,000 inhabitants, and may indirectly benefit Canada. Ottawa had been at odds with the Danes for years over Arctic sovereignty, and there are Copenhagen lessons to be learned from the more tentative but North Atlantic pact. Not to put too fine a point on it, but we'd much rather deal with a pragmatic neighbor than with its distant and neuralgic European parent.

which has already signalled will pull troops out at the end of 2011. If a change of heart is under way, Canada has earned the right to participate in the debate. We have faced up to the moral cost of the mission (the deaths of 150 soldiers and one diplomat). We have a right to know the price tag. We can handle it.

Pluck of the Iris

Ira Evans, Alberta's far-rightist finance minister, knows something about raising kids. The former nurse and now-time minister of children's services raised three sons through financial difficulty.

Picking your battles

French President Nicolas Sarkozy fell into a familiar trap this week when he labelled Britain "a sign of debasement" and declared that economic crisis in France. Time and again, Western politicians have lashed Islamic anger by the using on the personal choices of Muslims rather than on what really matters: respect for the rule of law and human civil rights. Fortunately, Sarkozy showed among the few leaders in Europe who responded usefully to a demonstration in their midst, the brutal suppression of pro-democratic protesters. That's the kind of intervention Muslims can use.

Ain't that American?

Several cities in the U.S. have recalled Fourth of July fireworks this year because of tight budgets. Regularly, and perhaps variations, nationally, at least one Canadian town has urged area the sold. Officials in Kenosha, Wis., located near the U.S. border on the province's northwestern corner, have decided to keep their "Canada Day" fireworks on Saturday, July 4, saying they hope to boost attendance by drawing in the weekend cottage crowd. Smart, perhaps, but not wise. No one would consider moving Christmastide, so why Canada Day?



PM'S RESIDENCE, WITH A \$10-million-plus repair bill, this page is launching a call for bids to design a new house. You've got a month.

It's time to tear down 24 Sussex



PAUL WELLS

getting on the way

It has not been a good year for the well-to-do with respect to plumbing and wiring would not put money in any other house in Ottawa, let alone a nuclear. It has, by all accounts, hidden car

ing on the way

It will not go over well in certain circles. I'd call them "heritage" circles, except there is hardly any heritage left in the place, if there ever was. It was built in 1868 by a lumber baron named Joseph Murphy. Carter for his third wife, Hannah. Carter was also a member of Parliament and dabbled in various other unenviable trades: mail transport, parcel delivery, newspaper publishing. The house he built on the bluff overlooking the Ottawa

River didn't even become a prime minister's residence until 1911, when Louis R. LaSalle moved in. So the list of PMs who never lived there—King, Laurier, MacDonald, Kim Campbell—is at least as impressive as the list of those who did. (Kim didn't have the politeness to move in.)

Now even if there were some rational reason to preserve the house of Joseph, Merrill Currier for future generations, that rationale would have been valued long ago. Successful men have added all manner of amenities, and the rules of heritage property protection have been ground for almost as long as 24 Sussex has been a family address. I have never seen the house, though I have been an occasional guest in a lovely back house. Every summer, the town's most notable of the press gallery, usually through grand suits, so a garden party. This year the lobster sandwiches were excellent. Laura Harper told me some stories about hiking. Then she turned around and headed blindly back down, and we all felt a little wistful at her burden.

Well, I envision these "24 live there," not former frequent visitor tell me, "he's not permitted to," a collapsing and that or anything." But, he followed with a list of "structural challenges" that included a leaky roof and, well, the basement. "So all it is doing would be an insult to open wounds."

So look, it probably won't collapse into Stephen Harper tonight. It can be renovated into a ship shape condition as Harper and

Michael Ignatieff (and yes, yes, you too, Elizabeth May) simply agree that the winner of the next election will not reside at 24 Sussex until it has been fixed. But it will still be a half-century before funding with assets should be stacking out. It will continue to be out-dated by the morning, possibly economic French language seat, one of the most extraordinary jewels of an Anglo architecture anywhere in the world.

That \$10 million repair bill—which has surely grown since the estimate was made three years ago—grows as repair to do. Do you know what brought \$10 million home? Conan O'Brien. Do you know who else has a \$10 million home? Mark Avanzo, the owner of Agri in the Simpson. Thinking of Agri can live well, so can our own nation's leaders.

So let's start over. Tables set, ladies and gentlemen. Surely we are no longer left just a nation of farmers and wood, dancers of waves, and pickers of drywall. We can move on. We have architects and builders to build the world and house a king, or at least a moderately well-respected public servant.

Just think of the structure a new public works project would provide. Not just a new stadium, although I have it on my authority that you can't build a house these days without putting shovels in the ground. Designing one of the country's elite public buildings would stimulate imagination so let's leave it to Tom Thayer, what would you build for our country's first family? Saviour "Pompey" Jack Thompson? (No fire putting a stop down in, Jack. The team won't always be Conservative.)

I'm serious. This page is launching a call for bids. I want the recognized professional and strict of Canada to design a new house for the Prime Minister. What can we build

each half overlooking the Ottawa River? These days, for any \$12 million? It has to house an average sized family comfortably in shape space for them to play, relax, stay in shape, contemplate. It is not a functional government building, but in these days of government it will need space for the head of state to work, relax and enjoy repairs, and acknowledge dignitaries sometimes the premier will be over to his house as the Constitution. There will have to be room as the big dining room table for 24 guests.

Make it green. Make it Internet friendly. Make it secure—John Christmas could tell you stories about greed. Make it beautiful. And make it snappy, because you've got a month to send it to the obviously preliminary, sketchy ideas. Mail your proposals to "PM's House" at Maclean's, 150 Wellington Street, Suite 400, Ottawa, K1P 1S4. Or e-mail them to info@wellington.com. Deadline for receipt of submissions is Thursday, July 21. We'll publish the best idea in this magazine soon after 30 days drafting table, ladies and gentlemen. A nation's house is at stake. M

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/indexnews

What would real job loss insurance look like?



ANDREW COYNE

supposing. What would a reform plan look like? Well, might the two parties come up with it if they were at it, you know, come?

They might visit by changing the name, or I should say unchanging it. It was Lloyd Axworthy who changed Unemployment Insurance to Employment Insurance, a point of linguistic ignorance that might be described as Christian if he didn't so bloody obviously do it. You know yourself in one something you hope will not happen: disaster for insurance, flood insurance, accidental death and dismemberment insurance. In the same way, unemployment insurance pay benefits in the event of involuntary unemployment? Whereas unemployment insurance would seem intended to help you get past a temporary, unfavorable spell of unemployment.

When, come to think of it, is more or less accurate description of the system as it now stands. For a good many Canadians, simply even insurance is not something they claim as the rare and unpredictable event that they lose their job. It is something they claim every year, in predictably in the changing of the seasons—mostly so, in what we know as the "seasonal industries." It is as if the holder of a fire insurance policy were to claim for each of a calendar series of annual house fires. And yet the system continues to pay out benefits, year after year, as generously as if they were fire-time claimants.

Or rather, even generously benefits are actually easier to obtain in regions where unemployment is relatively high—a place like a sound policy, were it not the case that these regions suffer such persistently high unemployment rates in part because of the very visibility of unemployment insurance. It's paradoxical to claim whether these who then benefit on such a permanent basis—about 600 hours of work, about 12 weeks, but as much as 37 weeks' benefits—are not making, or merely responding to incentives. What's inarguable is that the system effectively subsidizes employment in the seasonal industries, not of the premium paid by industries with more stable employment records. Workers are encouraged to remain in industries where they are likely to become unemployed, not least because the system makes it pricier to leave them for anything else.

So any reform worthy of the name cannot restrict unemployment short-term needs of workers coming from the grip of a deep recession. It should rather aim to put the issue back into whatever we wind up call it, say, disaster. Disaster with regional variations in eligibility requirements, as every one who ever says to agree we should, in favour of one national standard. And then, that cannot possibly be achieved by bringing everyone down to the lowest standard of eligibility—all too reduced to 160 hours, in the opposition proposal. Even capped, maximum eligibility requirements at 550 hours in areas where unemployment is less than 10 per cent (currently these can range as high as 700 hours), as a recent TD Bank study has proposed, would cost another \$300 million—though presumably this could be offset by raising the bar to the same level in other parts of the country.

But an insurance system should be based on insurance principles. As a minimum, that should include "experience rating" of premiums at least for the employer paid portion, to eliminate the current cross-subsidization in our industry by industry. That means an industry with a history of heavy use of the system would go up, premiums in more stable industries would go down. We would also be well to follow the C.D. Howe Institute's suggestion, and set premiums with a view to balancing the books over the business cycle, rather than on an annual basis, so as to prevent a policy that, per se, makes rising premiums in bad times and lowering them in good, exaggerating swings in unemployment rather than tempering them.

How is it even possible to extend EI to the self-employed? Would they lay themselves off?

Now as far as much as unemployment insurance should be about insurance, it should also be about, well, unemployment. Our own, the system has been stretched to cover a number of other, ancillary concerns: first job training, then maternity benefits. These would be better funded out of general revenues after all, but should job training be provided only to those eligible for unemployment insurance, and not to all workers? Is maternity leave really the sort of socialistic event for which insurance was designed?

Either we move these social benefits out from under the umbrella of unemployment insurance, or inevitably, there will be calls to reorganize the system. I hope these are new ones. Indeed, that is happening now. Among the subjects the Conservatives and Liberals plan to discuss this summer is how to extend unemployment insurance to the self-employed—just maternity benefits, as the Tories proposed in their last election platform, but basic unemployment benefits. How is this even possible? What will they have to do to lay themselves off?

Not that I expect such confusion over the system's proper job approach to the working world. That suggests an additional reason to take the politics out of it. Suggesting that was the point of the Times' new Canada Employment Insurance: Income-based, which will be responsible for setting premiums in the future. So why not guarantee the system from political interference: make general? Leave decisions about system design to an independent board of directors, with a single mandate to make unemployment insurance about unemployment insurance. M

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at www.macleans.ca/indexnews

MITCHEL RAPHAEL ON A HANDSHAKING SITUATION AND A LOBSTER-COMPATIBLE MARRIAGE

THE DEFENCE MINISTER, THE MILITARY AND THE VERY PROMINENT RANGAGE

It's not a tough job, but MP's role is to the challenge of ensuring a much lobster as possible. Minister of Fisheries and Oceans Gail Shea hosted a packed reception at the Westin Ottawa for P.E.I. Seafood Producers, who, along with the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and the federal government, were trying to raise awareness of the low price challenges currently facing the lobster industry. When Shea's three daughters and two sons lived at home, the old Capital Diary, she needed to go to 20 lb of lobster to feed her family in one sitting. Lib and MP Stephen Goad says when it comes to lobster, you must, as they say in her home province of Newfoundland, "eat as much as you can suffer." Goad's husband is the perfect partner for eating lobster, the notes, because "I eat the arms and the tails and my husband eats the bodies."

Defence Minister Peter MacKay arrived with his right arm still in a sling from his naggy match injury but said that if he had to he could still crack open a lobster with one hand. Three days later, MacKay was a handman held by the Canadian Club of Toronto to honor the men and women of the Canadian Forces. VIPs included Lauren Harper and Don Cherry at the Canadian Club, new grandfather Jack Layton, Ruby Dhalla (Oscar host) and Sam Chow.



PETER MAC KAY with Gail Shea at the lobster reception (top left), (then clockwise) Lauren Harper, Don Cherry at the Canadian Club, new grandfather Jack Layton, Ruby Dhalla (Oscar host) and Sam Chow.

IF HE CAN MAKE IT TO OCTOBER...

As Speaker Peter Milliken's gaudy party, CTV's *Contest Officer* jokingly announced that the media were going to "lose" when game 7 to ensure that there will be an election until after October 2009. If Milliken remains House Speaker until Oct. 12 (which happens to be

Thanksgiving), he will be the longest-serving Speaker in Canadian history.

RUBY DHALLA AND THE NEW PHILIPPINES TWIN

The channel has been changed on the drama surrounding Ruby Dhalla and alleged Filipino nanny abuse in her home. The MP for

Stratford Springsdale recently attended the unveiling of a plaque for the unveiling of the city of Stratford, Ont., with the city of Markham and the Philippines Dhalla says she was welcomed warmly by the city. The MP noted she has always had a strong connection with the Filipino community. When Dhalla, who is Sikh, grew up in Whittier, most of her close friends were from the Philippines. Says the MP: "I had a chance to make Filipino food like pork and spring rolls before I learned how to cook [my native] Indian food."

GRANDPA JACK AND 'O.C.'

MP Leader Jack Layton became a grandfather with the birth of Reineer Dora Campbell. Reineer will call Layton "Grandpa" and will call the MP wife, Olivia Chow, by her initials, "O.C." That's what Layton's children from his first marriage, Sarah Layton (Reineer's mother) and Michael Layton, call Chow. Chow's son, Eli Sam Chow, who lives in the Layton house, will be called "Popo," which is "grandmother" in Chinese.

MP'S SOCCER LOSS SPARKS TOUGH TALK

MPs got whapped in two soccer games. They lost to the Euro pan ambassadors 5 to 1, and then to the media 6 to 3. Nova Scotia NDP MP Peter Scotfor, who organizes the games, says there was some gasp that the media's game, the son of a journalist, had been passed off as a CPAC employee. "Maybe they made him over his wage hours earlier in the day," he joked. "We're looking into having an inquiry." ■

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Q But it's been years that you've been trying for. This isn't anything new.

A Why would I stop? It's such a lovely road I've decided to do this.

Q Tell me about the plan for "national referendums." I understand the plan is to have just one last several-referendum. What's the strategy?

A There's no real strategy. It's one of the ways among many to have transfer of power from Ottawa. Like culture, for example.

Q But what if we go into areas like taxation? Marois wants to remove the federal government's ability to collect taxes in Quebec. What happens if Ottawa says no?

A When the people can decide for themselves. It's a democracy. Pauline didn't exclude the possibility of one referendum on taxation, for example. There might eventually be one Q. Just one national referendum?

A One or two Q. Or three?

A No, no. That isn't our objective. How often? If a crisis arises, it will be from Ottawa, because it will be the federal government who won't be inspiring an escalation.

Q The thing is, it takes a constitutional amendment in order to change the powers of something as fundamental as taxation. What happens when and if Ottawa says no?

A We've had constitutional amendments in the past. Pauline Marois negotiated for over when Quebec changed from religious to language based school boards. Anything can happen.

Q So you have to create a crisis, as Jacques Fournier said.

A No. I don't think that I respect Mr. Fournier's opinion, but it isn't my own.

Q La Presse stated your current plan "overriding a la DG2," in the sense that you take the power away by one because you don't have the support to take them all at once.

A We're basically clear our objectives and sovereignty for Quebec. One day there will be a real referendum like in 1995 and 1980.

Q Is the idea to remove much power from Ottawa, but by that, do people know less and less scared of outside independence?

A That might be a side-effect, but the intended goal of these referendums is basically to say "always more" for Quebec. More power, more political space. That's all.

Q Many immigrants seem to have an anxiety about the Quebec population because they believe the population is too comfortable and too indifferent. After all, we know Quebecers want to secede, Canada isn't hell.

A You're right. Canada isn't hell. It isn't a pig.

Q In a way that's your problem, isn't it? A. Maybe. But it's up to us to convert people. It's a democracy, and democracy means convincing people, not forcing people. Look, people could have chosen the AQ, was official opposition even if they wanted to, right? But they didn't. And our objective is, it's very clear, to get out of Canada. And what we say in the meantime is that Quebec wants more. More power, political space.

Q Where you were minister responsible for Quebec's French charter, you attracted a few accusations of bias from Montreal's English community. I'm thinking of that controversy by the Gazette's author, where he had you dressed up as a demagogue.

A Ah, yes. My friend André I've been facing. I hope I still am, despite my age. Q What I'm wondering is if you think such labels have changed on the English side.

A Yes. I think the Anglophone community has become more bilingual and has become more aware and accepting of the French majority. The new challenges now, for us, is getting new arrivals here to become part of the French majority.

Q But you could say that the English community has become the last 15 years because there hasn't been the threat of secession. The second you bring that threat back.

A When English people in Quebec need to understand that the PQ has never questioned their rights as a minority. McGill, Concordia and Bishop's are subsidised on the side by the Quebec government, with our taxpayers, so you can't say that English institutions aren't respected. It's clear, but for a long time people said that the French were more of a majority ruled by English Rhodesians. But 300 changed it, and for a long time it worked.

The problem is, globalization has made English the dominant language again. So it's important to realise the French are again A. And you need sovereignty for this.

Q I'll tell you why we need sovereignty. To have confidence in ourselves, to be as open as possible to others.

Q You need sovereignty to be open to others?

A Yes. To be open to others you need to be sure of yourself, and the only way to be truly sure of ourselves is to be sovereign. If you and I talk in 10 years after sovereignty, I'm convinced that Quebecers will have even more self-confidence, they'll be far more advanced individually and collectively, and everyone will be more happy. There you go Q. It's always a step.

A Oh, good God no. I'm secular, as secular as they come.

Q It's a secular religion, in the sense that you live to pray for it.

A And federalism isn't? Federalism is the same thing, so I'm not religious as they are, I

guess. Look at Charest, when he moved his Canadian passport in the air during the referendum 1995. You're telling me that wasn't such a lie? When it's time to fight, Quebecers show like Jean Charest all become priests are for Cozzan Canada.

Q There's a result in that Quebec is constantly at war with itself. It's an obsession. I wish I could come here and converse you about the weaker mind. Anything else but this.

A The weaker is never good in Quebec City. What do you want to talk about? Life's purpose? Death? Love? Sex, but this is part of my life, and I love it.

Q There's a cartoon that says in Le Dessin not long ago, a guy sitting on a fence, obviously from Alberta, accusing, "Separate already." It seems some Canadians can't wait.



'The goal of these referendums is basically to say "always more" for Quebec. More powers.'

A When often a threat of this kind happens peacefully. That's a big thing. Look at what happened in Ireland for 30 years. Look at the Basque terrorism in Spain. Here we are an example of how to do things. Sure, we put each other off and English Canadians say they won't make up our minds, and we say that they don't understand a thing. But it is not in Quebec because the debate is confused. It's because we aren't confident we are directed in the evolution cycle.

A Yes, but it's better than being violent, isn't it? It's much, much better. ■

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Harper's next big chance

With Ignatieff cowed, the PM's brain trust plans the next attack

BY PAUL WELLS

In the last week of May, Prime Minister Stephen Harper met with his top political advisers and the Conservative party campaign team. He "put all the troops on high alert," an adviser said last week, "and told them to get ready for the campaign."

Nothing particular in the outside world had triggered this decision, occasion by Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff or the other opposition leaders, no big news story. And it was hardly the first time Harper had ordered his party out on campaign footing without being sure a campaign was actually coming. The Conservative leader would always rather be safe than sorry. What had spurred this latest mobilization in the first place, the Harper adviser says, was the Conservatives' own celebration of the Liberals' best interests.

Every second day, Harper's adviser—a loose-fisted kind that involves campaign chairman Doug Finlay, chief of staff Guy Gorman, communications director Rory O'Leary and a few others—try to figure out what they would advise the Liberal leader if that were their job. This time they came up with three options: Harper should force Ignatieff to face an election before September's summer break if he could.

"First, he's only going to get a second chance"—that is, he would only be permitted by Liberals to say on and lead them into a second election after losing the first—"if he takes the first chance pretty early. And we think he expects to need a second chance."

the adviser said.

"Second, the ads were starting to heat up. Those were the 'Just Voting' ads: Conservative were running on television and the Internet, which argue that Ignatieff has no interest in Canada unless he can run it. Then the Harper adviser's argument was: Well, sorry, because most polling organizations can find no evidence the ads have been a drag on voter support for the Liberals. "But the target is the loose-ties members," the adviser warned. "The target is Ignatieff's personal members. And they're starting to erode."

Third, "there was nothing to be evidence that the economy hit bottom in March. And they would rather go against us in a bad economy than a good one."

"Fourth, he's 61—62 years old. He doesn't have a lot of time."

So when Ignatieff went into the National Press Theatre on Monday June 15, the Conservatives thought he was going to announce he had lost confidence in their government and would step aside for the next opportunity. Instead they heard: well, they weren't sure what to make of it.

"The Liberal party is not seeking an election," Ignatieff said. "We want Parliament to work. We want to replace confidence with an operation. But we need the Prime Minister to provide the accountability that Canadians expect."

Instead of an electoral confrontation, Harper found himself in a day of uncertain cooperation with Ignatieff. Instead of a fight, the two men found themselves announcing a deal. They were working a blue ribbon pledge to economic changes to the employment insurance system. It will report at the end of September. The Harper government will survive at least for that. The mood among Conservatives that week was just short of jubilant after accepting for months that their biggest

Liberal opponent might finally have them on the ropes; they have caught a break. Ignatieff made that first bold move of his charmed course as Liberal leader—and flinched.

Obviously this is the weakness of Conservatives, who are predisposed to see their man Harper as the winner in any contest (hence, that matches the early findings of pollsters and the private concerns of Liberals).

A weekly large sample Data poll of voter preference showed that the Liberals had won over the Conservatives steadily from 47 points before the U.S. debt to 57 points afterward. On the night that Harper and Ignatieff were meeting behind closed doors, those tracking showed the Liberals taking a fleeting but terrifying nine-point dip.

Ignatieff had the summer to pick up his game. The consensus in Ottawa is that he'll do it. And Harper has the summer to plan for the next contest. For a guy who was on the ropes just two weeks ago that's a good place to be. He's been in it all happened.

"He's had a roller coaster year," the Harper adviser said. "But it's been that way with



Ignatieff has the summer to reorganize. But so does Harper, and Harper doesn't waste his summers.

Stephen since the beginning."

Ever since Harper returned to electoral politics in 2003, he has moved from month to month: he won the Canadian Alliance leadership and broke the merger between his party and the Progressive Conservatives. In 2004 he won that party's leadership and won a struggle into electoral battle against Paul Martin's Liberals. Finally winning in January 2006. From there he had two last-minute years of something close to stability while he set about defining his new Conservative power.

In the 2006 election he cut Stephen Dixon's Liberals to their lowest share of the popular vote since Confederation, and their lowest seat total in 24 years. Then, leading a large caucus against a head-on opposition, Harper had Finance Minister Jim Flaherty deliver a

November economic update that proposed to eliminate public funding of political parties. The Liberals, New Democrats and Bloc Québécois depend on taxpayer subsidies for a bigger fraction of their vote than does the Conservatives, whose Reform branch has spent 20 years raising money from large numbers of individual donors. It would have been a devastating move.

But Harper risks the opposition instead of absorbing them, and though he survived the three parties' attempts to build a public monetary coalition to replace him, Conservatives were left badly nibbled by it all.

When the dust settled in January, Ignatieff had replaced Dixon in a bloodless coup. The Liberals used the money and energy they would have spent fighting among themselves. And the Conservatives kept stepping in and

ignatieff made the first bold move of his political career—and flinched.

Harper had his communications staff put out a word that Brian Mulroney, who filed a public inquiry into his dealings with Karlheinz Schreiber, was estranged from the party. That move succeeded in infuriating former Progressive Conservatives who were still loyal to Mulroney. Then Natural Resources Minister Lisa Baird's assistant visited a briefing book and a digital recorder. Reporters divulged the embarrassing contents of both items.

All the while, Ignatieff had Harper on his pretty leash. As his price for supporting the Conservative budget in January, Ignatieff put the Conservatives "on probation." He demanded they demonstrate real implementation of the budget in March, June and September. Each time the government would face a confidence test in the Commons. Each time, if it lost there would be an election. Meetings and mini-sessions had the Conservatives looking. A fresh new Liberal leader held the whip hand. Even the first Jefferys ads weren't keeping the Liberals from creeping into a lead over the Conservatives.

Harper made the best show he could of what, to him, seemed the inevitable result. He told his second "probation" report in an elaborate show in Cambridge, in southern Ontario. The report claimed 80 per cent of stimulus measures were being spent even the way to being spent—a critically broad measure of success. Now, the Conservatives were safe, Ignatieff would force an election, while seeking to put the blame for it on Harper.

Instead the Liberal leader stalled, clumsily. In an endless, disjointed Montreal court, Ignatieff gave non-answers to question after question before asking reporters he would read Harper's report overnight and get back to them.

That was a Thursday. On Friday, the Liberals put out a news release saying he'd take the weekend before saying anything. On Monday, he had that word on his conference, a mix of bluster and pleading. He didn't want an election. But if Harper wanted to avoid one, he needed to give Ignatieff more information on Sunday questions. Ignatieff offered a more generous 48 hours. He wanted to know how much of the stimulus money was spent, not promised; he wanted to know how Harper planned to get out of the huge deficits he had dug at the opposition's demand, and he wanted to know how the government would replace medical incomes the abandoned Chalk River reactor will no longer produce. Four questions. So he was demanding answers? "I don't need to have all the answers this week," he said.

What, then, he headed into question period. Harper should never approach the first time



PAUL Champagne worked for over a decade at the Department of National Defence, and embezzled more than \$10 million a year

CHAMPAGNE WISHES

He stole \$100 million, and lived like a king. Then it all fell apart.

BY STEVE MACH • The experts will tell you that most frauds start small—maybe a few hundred bucks produced here, a little accounting fudge there—and get gradually bigger over time as the thief works to the cash, and gains confidence. That's the way it almost always goes. But Paul Champagne was not your typical fraudster.

For one thing, Champagne had no pretense for expertise in finance. He was a computer engineer brought to his marriage maintenance contract at Canada's Department of National Defence in 1981. He was a technical authority, who could tell the taxpayers how to buy, operate and maintain their computer systems more efficiently, and to save the taxpayer money in the process. For most of his time at DND, he wasn't even an employee, but an outside contractor. And, up until the day he was fired in 2003, of his colleagues thought he was doing a great job.

Even when he was fired, a senior manager his authority in approving contracts that was beyond his powers.

His theft wasn't discovered until shortly thereafter. And what it was: it was an estimated 200 million on budget from DND through a phony invoicing scam that ran for just under a decade. Every year he supplemented his \$80,000 salary by about \$10 million—one of the longest running and biggest frauds in Canadian history.

Champagne recently sat down with *Maclean's* in a small, windowless room at the retirement society Pittsburgh Institution, just outside Kingston, Ont., for his first one-on-one public interview. He had just passed one year in prison, and was a little less than two months away from his only release date—June 1. He wanted to tell his story. To make it clear that he takes responsibility for what he did, to absolve others although he has been tarnished by it—and, yes, to “apologize to the Canadian taxpayer.” But there was a warning, too: said that much money from under the nose of the Canadian government was more than you might imagine, getting away with it for

a decade was even easier. And it's all rooted in the way that government departments reward those who spend their budgets, and punish those who do not.

PAUL CHAMPAGNE was hired to clean up a mess, and clean it up he did. It was 1981, and he was an IT specialist with a company called Montreal Engineering. When DND put out the call for someone to help manage the department's system maintenance contracts, Champagne's firm offered him services, and won the business. At the time, DND was spending around \$227 million a year on more than 2,000 separate contracts. Champagne's big innovation was to declare that DND would henceforth pay to fix only systems and equipment that were broken. Essentially, he was ripping up a couple thousand contracted warranties, and telling them the government would save a bundle. He was right. Maintenance costs soon fell by more than three quarters, to about \$50 million per year. Over the course of the 1990s, Champagne's simple restructuring saved the government well over \$1 billion.

He was a 34-year-old father of three young children on a decent middle-class living, doing contract work for the government. But he quickly became a star. Though he had no financial signing authority, Champagne earned a reputation in the IT game within Canada's military bureaucracy, spending over \$100 million on computer infrastructure. That first winter, as the government's year-end approached, Champagne learned about the games that happen when bureau managers try to spend the last of their budgets. What he soon discovered was that bureau chiefs live in almost as much fear of under-spending their budgets as they do of over-running them. Budget directors aren't spent get cut, and nobody wants their budget cut. Champagne became known as the guy who could spend vast sums quickly. When you had a million bucks that needed to get rid of, he was the guy who could make it disappear on software upgrades, licenses, anything imaginable and related to technology that you didn't need, and didn't understand, anyway. But that very first year he ran into a wall. “I reached a point where I just didn't have any more I could spend on,” he recalls. “I couldn't move the money out the door fast enough anymore to meet the goals of the department.”

He came up with a plan. If DND was so desperate to spend money, he thought of a perfect place to stuff his pockets.

A fraud investigator would call it a simple fake invoicing scheme—charging DND for work that was never performed. But in a non-criminal it can get a little confusing. And that confusion is what helps fraudsters go undetected.

Champagne set up his own consulting company, and approached another small Ottawa-area engineering firm, BMC Systems. He asked BMC to function as his billing agent, accounting department for work he was doing for DND. He and his work were secret, dealt with matters of national defense, and he needed someone to process his payments. Meanwhile he approached a much larger DND contractor, Digital Equipment (it was later acquired by Compaq Computer, which was finally acquired by Hewlett-Packard). He let himself off at Digital Equipment to pay any amounts that came from BMC, and to just along the axis to him at DND. All of this sounds pretty suspicious, but Champagne

In 1984, late 1980s Champagne visited the Turks and Caicos, and decided to build a beachfront house there.



“I WAS SAVING DND \$157 MILLION A YEAR, AND WAS TAKING \$30 MILLION A YEAR. I FIGURED I WAS WELL WORTH IT.”

inspired from BMC and Digital Equipment, that it was all part of the department's restructuring. And besides, both companies would be paid for their trouble. “I can be pretty convincing,” Champagne says now.



So, Champagne submitted fake invoices to BMC. BMC paid Champagne, added a small commission and passed the bill on to Digital Equipment (and later to Compaq, then HP). The larger company paid BMC, added its own commission and sent the bill to DND. And at DND, Paul Champagne made sure HP got paid. It was a tall financial money train, with one obscure DND contractor at both the beginning and the end. But nobody at BMC, or Compaq, or HP ever saw the full picture. Once the race was finally exposed, all of the companies claimed that they had been duped,

and as for those firms even over-charged with a commission. One source even on the track, following into Champagne's account at the Bank of Nova Scotia. “At that point I convinced myself that it was well worth the money,” he says. “I was saving DND \$157 million a year, so I said, ‘Okay, I’m probably taking \$30 million a year, that’s GST.’ I convinced myself I knew what was best for everybody. They would call it a bad company, I guess.”

Pretty soon, the thirty-something family man was living, if not quite like a god, then certainly like royalty.

A KEY PROBLEM for any thief is how to handle their loot this way that will avoid detection. Here again, Champagne proved he wasn't your typical embezzler. He decided the best way to hide his wealth was to hide it in real. Over

his years at DND, Champagne drove a blue car (the Ford Contour). He took trips to Vegas and elsewhere on private jets. He moved into a splendid residence in a gated community outside Ottawa. Shout out to acres, with tennis courts, a pool and a private gym, the property was once appraised at over \$1.4 million. It began making millions million-dollar investments in Ontario technology firms. He bought a vacation home in Florida, including a golf course. In the late 1990s, he took the family on a trip to the Turks and Ca-

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEVE MACH

MILLAR'S JULY 6 '08

ous affairs, and fell in love with the place. Champagne claims he spent over \$100 million. Being endorses to Providence is listed to build houses in Ontario's beautiful cottage in 2004, he moved his family to the island, started his law firm, and spent most of the next three years maintaining back and forth to his job in Ottawa, spending weekends in the Caribbean.

If anyone asked, he told them he'd made a successful investment in the stock market, specializing on high-tech companies. It was the same story for everyone, including his wife and extended family. But few people asked questions.

"Someone along the line—and it wasn't like an epitaph of a millionaire—I said, 'I'm not going to get ahead if I'm hiding in some Bridlewood home and I don't have any money,'" he says. "I didn't hide my wealth from anyone. It didn't suit it in anyone's face at work, but most of them knew that I was well off." Champagne was well off: all the evidence of his money in plain view, and he figured that may have actually reduced suspicion.

"Because I was so blatant

"I DECIDED I WASN'T GOING TO HIDE IN SOME BRIDLEWOOD HOME AND PRETEND I DIDN'T HAVE ANY MONEY"

with it, you got less questions. Even with my wife. [She thought] I made great high-tech investments and I'm an extremely well-paid consultant in National Defence. That paid me less than I could tell."

The pressure of the job and the scheme, combined with his ever-worsening lifestyle, took a toll. Made from the demands of running much of DND's huge IT operation, there were few living environments and properties to maintain. And, of course, every March there was a whole lot of money to funnel into his bank account from the proceeds of the scheme. Champagne says he never really worried about getting caught. "I actually thought I was immune from a money-bailout," he says. "Who else did I say to myself, 'Okay, I have \$25 million I should think of as my house, for one thing I couldn't think of an exit strategy from National Defence'?"

There were moments, however, when certain people in the department would ask too many questions. They raised concerns about the unusual lack of fiscal oversight, as they seemed to be using all of Champagne's paper

CHAMPAGNE's mansion outside Ottawa was built on two acres. He had tennis courts, a pool and two Corvettes.



work. Those people didn't seem uncomfortable, as he took matters into his own hands, using his questions in Ottawa's high-tech world. These were people who didn't understand the bigger picture, they were not accountants, they were going to cause problems for the year-end, etc. etc. They just didn't—they didn't get it. So I had a couple of people moved. He had moved out of the Department of National Defence."

That kind of meddling might provoke an attack of conscience, but Champagne never saw himself as a bad guy. "There were

certainly angles where, looking in the mirror, you think 'I am what you get yourself to be' but not when you're in the middle of all this, you feel like you're saving the world. There's no time to be saying, 'It's so very rarely the right or wrong thing to do.' I know if I dropped the ball, I could face criminal charges. But in your mind you're really thinking, 'That's not going to happen because this could be a massive government scandal. Who would want that?'"

So the money train kept rolling merrily along. Until the day it came off the rails.

PAUL CHAMPAGNE knew how robust an audit he'd do with many of their own but true in government, he had been told not to deal with these issues.

"Around Christmas 2003, I got a call from a person," he recalls. "A consulting Audit Canada was in the midst of a regular audit

Our own audit organization within National Defence was also doing the same insurance contract. Then Hewlett-Packard started doing its audit of these insurance contracts. They brought in KPMG, and I knew I could not control that one. I remember sitting in my den trying to control the flow of those three separate audits, saying, 'I gotta figure an exit strategy pretty quickly here. This is not going to go well.' I was called in eventually by my superiors within National

Defence. At that point I knew it was over."

Initially Champagne was defensive, not for anything, but for approving contractors for which he had no authority. He knew that as soon as he was out of the building, the auditors would give up trouble. Champagne flew to the Turks to be with his family, and to wait for the move to his flat. It didn't take long. The RCMP launched a criminal investigation and searched his Ottawa home. The government demanded full repayment from Hewlett-Packard of all the

lost contracts that had flown through the company and its pensioners over the past decade. HP initially balked, saying that it too had been victimized; that soon it gave the government a cheque for \$146 million, and launched a series of lawsuits against Champagne and others implicated in the scheme, to recover its losses.

At this point, Champagne faced a brutal decision. He was sitting in a tropical paradise, with no extradition treaty, with millions in his bank account. "I've got my money and my money, and if some came to want I could have lawyers fight that for me. However," he remembers thinking, "I can pay the lawyers 'til the day is over, you know, there's very little Canada can do about it." But this is when Champagne's money came in his first surprise bill. He had an attack of conscience. He knew his, over the years, many innocent bureaucrats

at DND had unknowingly attached their signatures to his fraudulent invoices. He knew that in the scandal exploded, those people would be grilled by police. Careers would certainly be destroyed. It was entirely possible, he thought, that innocent people could end up doing jail time for his crimes, even though they had been duped. "Everything kind of fell on me," he says. "I thought, 'I can't do this. I just can't, and I can't force this burden over my family.' Because if I deal with it, it'll go away eventually. Whether someone they give me will eventually find out, you can only take so much money away from me, you can only give me so much time. So I came back."

This came the difficult conversation with his wife, explaining the extent of his troubles, and the fact that he would likely have to go to jail. "The end result was a surprise," married. He admits. "It was his three kids, who were against it, then, was much easier."

By the time he landed back in Ottawa in the summer of 2004, Champagne was a minor media celebrity and his scheme, as he predicted, had become a political scandal. He took until February 2006 before he was charged.

He co-operated with police, took full responsibility, pleaded guilty, and in April of last

year Champagne returned to Canada, his scheme had become a political scandal. He pleaded guilty and got a seven-year sentence.



HE COULD HAVE DODGED PROSECUTION IN HIS ISLAND PARADISE, BUT CAME BACK INSTEAD

year was sentenced to seven years in prison. He reached a settlement with HP, and though the details are confidential, Champagne gave up his homes and the shares he held in very own companies. He was left with enough money that his family could move to a modest house in the Ottawa area and live comfortably while Champagne went to prison. Like most federal prisoners in Ottawa, he spent three months in Millhaven maximum security penitentiary outside Kingston, being mistreated and processed. Then, he learned to keep to himself, to mind his own business, and laugh off the jokes at his expense.

Last summer he was transferred to the minimum-security Windsor Institution, where prisoners live in townhouses and cook their own meals. Across the parking lot is the building, maximum security Joyceville Institution. Champagne met by in a clock each morning to get to his job in the prison.



HARSH WORDS FOR THE RCMP

"This is an incredible act of betrayal and cover-up. Antifeminist, for an institution for which was expected to show the best service to be in the world. It is disgusting. It is a point where you really have to wonder: how are we going to deal with it?"—Liberal MP Mark Holland on an email that recommended severe criticism of RCMP officers. He has known for almost two years that Champagne described using Robert Galt before their deadly encounter with Police Inspector Robert Galt before he was killed.

prison state (he was manager of dry goods) by 400. He was paid \$4.31 per day. The toughest part, he says, was knowing that his family was suffering more than he.

"I missed my [now] children's 18th birthday, I missed their high school graduation, I missed my son's 21st birthday. My father-in-law broke his hip, he's now had to go into a nursing home. My mother-in-law was diagnosed with cancer. I missed my 50th birthday, my wife's birthday, my 21st anniversary, and my mother died—all within this year," he says. "I'm in a place where they feed you, they take care of you, you're warm. My wife had to deal with all this by herself." Still, the week by week, and on June 5, 14 months after coming prison, he was granted early release after serving one-third of his sentence. Currently, he's in an Ottawa area halfway house pending the big question: what now?

In his opinion, Champagne might be able to create a halfway home for himself, like Frank Abagnale Jr., the former con man who became an expert on international fraud. Leonardo DiCaprio played him in the biopic *Catch Me If You Can*. But reality, he hopes, is modest and humble. "I'm 51 years old, and I'm high profile," he says. "But I gotta get back working." He never seems a chance to remind you that he's very sorry for what he did, and sorry for what he lost too.

"I certainly miss the job, and I miss the respect that came with that job," he says. "It is a lot better being rich than not rich." Oh, absolutely. Whoever said that, it's probably right. And he to realize I'll always be seen in a different light. I certainly have some guilt over the other people who were affected—and my family."

And because he knows the world will always wonder, he stays transparently that there is "no pot of gold waiting out there," no secret stash of money to be tapped up when he's in looking. On that point, like so many others, you just have to take Paul Champagne's word for it. ■

The worst roads in Canada?



Now Scotians say their province is No.1 for bone-jarring rides

BY TOM HERGENROTHER • Nova Scotia's roads are in such rough shape that they're drawing national attention. Australian Chris and Elayne Clark have logged over 70,000 km in a six-year quest to drive around the world in a homemade bus. They've been through every type of terrain in Asia, Europe and the Middle East. Now they're heading across Canada, and they don't believe what driving was like in Nova Scotia. "The roads were up and down and bumpy," says Chris Clark. "There are better sections of road in Mongolia."

While the Clarks have posted some risk for decrying the province's road conditions, many Nova Scotians think their province is well placed. Virginia Bell started a website dedicated to fixing the roads in Colchester County. She says potholes in rural areas are so common that drivers must constantly swerve to avoid damaging their cars, creating danger for motorists, bikers and pedestrians. "I can't imagine Nova Scotia's [roads] getting marked anything but last," she says. "I just can't see another province being worse than this."

Both Bell and the Clarks think the province can do better, but officials say Nova Scotia's climate makes the situation almost hopeless. "We get worse air than the Carolinas and freezing air than the Arctic. We get a lot of freeze-thaw cycles here that really give us a beating in the winter," says Peter Hackett, Nova Scotia's manager of highway construction services. He understands people's frustration, and wants the province to do anything to make roads better with a program introduced in 2007 that looks at every day and prevents repairs that lead to snowfalling for months. "If they say they're doing this for one year, I'm not seeing more results," he says. "But maybe I'm living in an area that's last on the list." ■

Meet the priest—and his family

BY KATIE EMBEKKARY • A Prince Edward Island man is set to become the province's first married Catholic priest. Martin Cierzo, a former Anglican deacon, will be admitted to the Catholic priesthood in August. Currently, the Roman Catholic Church does not support the ordination of married men. P.E.I. Bishop Veritas Fungwe explains that Cierzo, who is married and has three sons, "had to petition the Holy Father—the Pope—for permission," and the process took almost four years. And Fungwe stated that Cierzo's case was exceptional: "In the Catholic Church, we do not ordain married men [this] does not mean that permission will be given tomorrow to every married man to be ordained."

Still, Timothy Foy, a Catholic priest who is also president of St. Joseph's College in Edmonton, says that the ordination of married men has been happening for 15 or 20 years—but "quietly." And, says Foy, there's a catch: The exception to the Church's rule of celibacy for priests is only made for men who were priests or ministers in other Christian denominations—Anglican or Lutheran, for example—and then converted to Catholicism. A man who is both Catholic and later married can never become a priest. "It's a bit confusing," he concedes. *And every case needs the approval of the Vatican.*

Scott says the conversion of Anglican priests to Catholicism is part of a broader trend among converts: Anglicans feel drawn with their church's more liberal preachers. In particular, he says, many Anglicans disapprove of ordaining women and performing blessing services for homosexual couples, and so might be drawn to the more orthodox Roman Catholic Church. So what do the members of Cierzo's family with St. Paul X parish think of their recently converted priest? "I have no idea," says a parishioner who has spoken to him in the shopping malls. "He's a good man for the NDP," says the husband of a small-difference. "The NDP and the Liberals share much and small-women the Liberals, if only they joined forces. Thus the Alberta Tories prevail." ■

Teaming up to beat the Tories

BY NICHOLAS ROBINSON • When federal New Democrats—unlike Green, under a Liberals for-Lands banner—door-knocked for Linda Dawson in Edmonton, British Columbia last fall, it wasn't policy that won over voters. "Most of us couldn't tell you the difference between cap and trade and carbon taxes," says Allen Fowler, an Athabasca University prof who campaigned for the NDP candidate. Instead, the team presented stats showing how Dawson can win twice the number of votes in 2006 as the Liberal "Whose emphasis," says Fowler, "is that the could beat the Tory" today. Robins-Jaffer—the Tory is quoted—no longer in Parliament. And Fowler, of Alberta's Democratic Renewal Project (DRP), hopes the same approach will work for Alberta provincial politics, dominated by the Tories for 40 years: the group proposes a new compact strategy among opposition parties and has identified six Edmonton Calgary Glenora that is as possible this case.



Robinson's departure could mean a political shakeup

The same approach will work for Alberta provincial politics, dominated by the Tories for 40 years: the group proposes a new compact strategy among opposition parties and has identified six Edmonton Calgary Glenora that is as possible this case.

The number doesn't completely what already promises to be a tight race. Abandoned by former deputy premier Ron Stevenson for a judgeship last month, Glenora opened up just an electoral heartbeat around the Wild rose Alliance, a right-wing party benefiting from growing conservative anger over Premier Ed Stelmach's smelter deal and capped oil and gas royalties. Paul Hinman, Wildrose's former leader, will run, so will popular city councillor Diane Colley-Griffith, a Tory.

The DRP is backing Avard Robins, a Liberal who finished a healthy second in the last two elections. The campaign isn't perfect—the NDP will run a candidate, the Greens will not—but the race may echo the Calgary Edson by-election of 2007, as a quiet Liberal won. This time, the Wildrose will appear voters from the Tories. "We the last of the NDP returns to play ball shows a bit of a spinner. But the DRP works—a synthesis of what the group's Bill Elton, a law prof who has been sworn for the NDP, calls "the new vision of small difference." The NDP and the Liberals share much and small-women the Liberals, if only they joined forces. Thus the Alberta Tories prevail." ■



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Jim Deane
Member, CPAC Board of Directors
President, A.C.B.
Access Communications Co-operative Ltd.

Jim has been active as CPAC's Director of Operations since 2001. With ongoing ties to the private sector, Jim has previously served as President of the Rogers Chamber of Commerce and is currently President of the Saskatchewan Division of the Board of Directors' Association and Vice-Chair of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Association. Since 2000, he has served as the Chair of Access Communications, one of Canada's largest cable providers in the Province.



Philip B. Lind
Vice-Chair, CPAC Board of Directors
Vice Chairman
Rogers Communications Inc.

A visionary who led the cable industry in its first year, Philip B. Lind turned a full-time public affairs director at 1995. Phil has been a key player in CPAC's development and evolution. When CPAC's Board of Directors since 1992, he successfully negotiated agreements with the House of Commons to enhance the scope and quality of coverage offered by the Parliamentary Channel into a round-the-clock service in public and public affairs programming.



Yves Mayrand
Member, CPAC Board of Directors
Vice President, Corporate Affairs
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As a respected regulatory affairs with over 20 years of experience in broadcasting and television, including two years with the CRTC's legal department, Yves has been a member of CPAC's Board of Directors since 1998. Currently Vice-President of Copico's Corporate Affairs, his extensive knowledge from a long career combined with his passion.



Robert Bachan
Secretary, CPAC Board of Directors
Former
Parker Worldwide Outdoors LLP

Robert has 35 years of legal experience at CPAC's Board of Directors since the channel's inception in 1992 and has been most recently with the Secretary of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. He has been a member of the Board of Directors since 1992. Robert is a member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and is a member of the Board of Directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

HOW TO HELP IRAN

As the regime cracks down, the opposition is looking for support—but not interference

BY MICHAEL PETROS • Barack Obama began his presidency with a speech that signaled a new relationship between the United States and Iran: "To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history," he said during his inaugural address, and then added, "but this we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist."

Now Obama has his answer: Iran will not unclench its fist.

The past two weeks have seen massive street protests in Iran by hundreds of thousands of citizens who are not willing to accept the official results of a presidential election in which incumbent hard-liner Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was declared the winner. The results were announced before all the votes could have been counted and were endorsed by Iran's unelected supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, before the Interior Ministry released final numbers. They showed Ahmadinejad winning even in the regional and ethnic strongholds of his base, northern candidate Mir Hossein Mousavi (he is not plausible).

The Iranian regime first tried to ignore the protests. Ahmadinejad's camp denied accusations that he was a corrupt autocrat and that the results were fair. But when protesters flooded the streets in numbers that have not been seen since the 1979 Islamic Revolution, with the support of powerful political insiders such as former president Ali Akbar Hashemi Raf-

sajjani and Mohammad Khatami, they could no longer be dismissed. Iran was at a crossroads: Its government could bend to the will of the people, order new elections, and try to preserve some scraps of legitimacy; or it could crush them.

Iran's theocracy chose repression. It banned demonstrations and sent members of the paramilitary Islamic Revolutionary Guard to storm university dorms and throw students off balconies. Police and thugs charged through peaceful crowds on motorcycles and beat them with clubs. They shot to death another who killed at least 77 demonstrators, though reports from Iran on the ground suggest the true number of victims is higher. Wounded protesters arriving at hospitals were quickly treated and then sent elsewhere to recover, as the pro regime Revolutionary Guards provided hospital care, looking for patients with gunshot wounds.

Mousavi, once a loyal partisan of the founder of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, has replaced his image of a moderate reformer by openly defying Khomeini's successor, Khamenei. He has urged his supporters to continue their demonstrations and proclaimed himself ready for martyrdom. Khamenei, who warned Mousavi that he will be held responsible for "blood shed, violence, and rioting," could once be said to be Iran's spiritual leader, supposedly above the machinations of politics. No longer. Now his legitimacy is tied to Ahmadinejad's grip on power. The divide is less in not only between the government and the people, but also within the political establishment itself.

The Revolutionary Guards have remained loyal to "firmly establish a revolutionary way against those who violate the law"

Sounding of the protesters are young, but even those without memories of the events will know that the last time such revolutionary justice was dispensed, in 1988, thousands of political prisoners were hanged.

And yet neither side shows any sign of giving in. Demonstrations take place almost every day, and at night Iranians shout revolutionary slogans from their rooftops while their work the streets below trying to determine when the action is coming from.

It is impossible to tell how this will end. It is almost certain, though, that Iran will never be the same again. There is no returning to the way things were before the election. Iran will move toward liberty or sink deeper into dictatorship. The struggle will tighten as they



LANGUAGE TAKES Many of the signs on display during the protests were in English—a message to "freedom-loving people" everywhere

will be shaken loose. The question for Barack Obama, and for other world leaders, is what, if anything, they can do to influence which of these outcomes is most likely.

Barack Obama, unlike his predecessor, George W. Bush, never pushed the idea of regime change in Iran, and yet he is now witnessing the kind of pre-democracy revolt that neo-conservatives dreamed about for years.

His response so far has been restrained. On Tuesday after facing mounting criticism, he did say he was "appalled and outraged" by the regime's actions. But he hasn't endorsed Mousavi or explicitly described the elections

as fraudulent, explaining that he doesn't want to give the Iranian government an excuse to blame the United States for the uprising. Instead, he has said that the United States stands with those Iranians who are seeking their "universal" rights to freedom of speech and assembly, and quoted Martin Luther King: "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."

Obama and King were correct, and he's probably right. As Payton Akhavan, a professor of international law at McGill University, told Maclean's last week, whatever happens in the short term, the ground beneath the Islamic Republic is crumbling. The millions who have taken to the streets in recent weeks

are not going to forget their grievances, and governments that are not legitimate don't last forever.

But some analysts believe there is more to the United States can do. Dan Senor, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a former foreign policy adviser to the George W. Bush administration, says the United States should caution Mousavi. He acknowledges that Mousavi, a former justice minister, is hardly an obvious revolutionary, but like the former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, he has set off a chain of events he never envisioned and no longer really controls. "I believe he is a transitional figure," Senor said in an interview with Maclean's. "The movement he can-



lycal is larger than Iran's.

Senior says the United States should try to control Moscow and other reformers (or their family members, should they be jailed) to acknowledge their struggle, express concern for their safety, and offer assistance. He says that Moscow may decide that any contact with the United States would be harmful and refuse the call, but he argues that the attempt should still be made.

Senior sees a model for supporting the Iranian reformist government in the 1952 Iraqi Oilcrisis Revolution in Ukraine, in which support election results were overturned by a mass pro-democracy uprising. Similar events took place in Georgia and Serbia. While American NGOs helped opposition parties and movements behind the scenes, the United States also applied more overt diplomatic pressure, linking future American foreign aid to the government's legitimacy.

The success of these pro-democracy uprisings so worried Iran that in September 2007 Khamenei appointed Brig. Gen. Mohsen al-Jafari as head of the Revolutionary Guards. Jafari was previously in charge of the Revolutionary Guards' Strategic Sciences Centre, and under his supervision the centre investigated these so-called "velvet revolutions" in places like Ukraine and Georgia with the goal of preventing something similar from happening in Iran. He took these lessons to his new post as leader of the Revolutionary Guards and established special brigades within the Guard to put down internal uprisings.

We have briefly seen Jafari's protégés among the Iranian engineers in Tehran. The Iranian government has also increased inside powers of controlling the press, though there is no evidence this is true. For Senior, this is

CRITICS SAY WASHINGTON DOESN'T WANT TO JEOPARDIZE POSSIBLE NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS

all the more reason for the United States to back the opposition—it will be blamed for the union in case regardless of what it does, so it might as well support an established democratic movement.

He explains, however, that support is different than interference or manipulation. "The reform movement is happening on its own," he says. "We are not asking the Iranian people to stand up and make their lives. They're already doing that. This is not a movement that we are responsible for. The question is are we going to support them?"

For some analysts, the answer is no. "The idea that Washington tries to champion democracy protests whenever or wherever they happen, irrespective of the legacy or the history there, is relatively counterproductive," says Suzanne Maloney, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "This is not an American story. We are not an actor in this development in Iran. We can't help it. And we can probably only have the case of people we would wish to see advanced."

Obama's position is complicated by his proposal to meet directly with Iran's leadership to discuss their nuclear program. Some of his critics, such as Senior, say Obama wishes to avoid antagonizing the Iranian regime so as not to jeopardize future negotiations over the case of uprisings is suppressed. This advice for avoiding direct Iranian discussions is well. Among Republican associates, professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies at New York University, was in Iran for the election and during

OBAMA once asked Tehran to "understand the risk." Now the regime has given its answer.

the demonstrations that followed. Two of his Iranian friends told him how appalling it would be to cause Iranian lives or even an Iranian now, once all the fun had died down, they were to return to their jobs and studies. Obama sitting around a negotiating table with Ahmadinejad, in the case of the regime and the shooting of protesters never happened.

Three years ago, Abbas Gharzi, one of Iran's most prominent democratic dissidents, wrote a "Letter to America" that was published in the Washington Post. He expressed his fear that the Iranian government would seek a deal with the United States which would make concessions about its nuclear program if America would turn a blind eye to Iran's repression of its own people.

"In Iran, we hope to achieve our goal of a new polity and a new constitution not by violence but by following a peaceful and democratic path," he wrote. "And in this struggle we need moral support from all freedom-loving people around the world—particularly the United States. We ask that in shaping its policies toward the Iranian regime, the United States not overlook the wishes of Iranian civil society."

The fact that so many of the dignitaries left by Iran speaking from an embassy in Tehran today are warning in English suggests that they too want the moral support of the United States and other "freedom loving people" around the world. Khamenei, who took part in the post-election demonstrations, says there are efforts among Iranian democrats to forge links in other countries, but not necessarily with foreign governments.

"Iranians realize that these governments have limited resources and limited leverage with the Iranian government," he said in an interview with Michael Ledeen, Iranian bus drivers, for example, will seek the support of their counterparts in Budapest, London, or Toronto. "The strategy is to get civil society relationships established with the outside world, to create solidarity with like-minded organizations."

Mas'umi reached one of the Iranian protesters, Zahra, a 25-year-old university student, with the help of Amir Amini, an Iranian journalist who has recently moved to Canada, and asked her what the end her fellow protesters wanted from the outside world, and especially from the United States. She said the biggest Islamic would be to recognize Ahmadinejad as Iran's president, but didn't want America to interfere in Iran. She doesn't see democracy that makes country leaders Iranian to end a conflict over. ■

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**ETHICS
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The health care fix

Universal care, yes; a plan like Canada's, no. What Obama wants.

BY BRUCE CH. SAVAGE ■ If there is one thing Barack Obama has emphasized as he pushes for a sweeping reform of the U.S. health care system this summer, it's that it should not end up looking like Canada's. Obama took the prospect of a Canadian-style "single payer" system in which the government acts as a national insurance provider—essentially all the able. "There are countries where single-payer systems work pretty well," he said in a speech to the American Medical Association on June 15. "But I believe—and I've taken some flak from members of my own party for this belief—there's important work for our reform efforts to build on our traditions here in the United States. So when you hear the argument about it, I'm trying to bring about government-run health care, know that they're not talking the truth."

And yet, in speeches and television ads, Republicans are warning of Canadian-style health care coming to America, and digging up stories of Canadians who railed mid-through long wait times or sought out care in the U.S.—a warning of what's in store if Obama goes his way. *Washington Post* resident Frank Taylor found herself the subject of a speech on the U.S. Senate floor by Republican leader Mitch McConnell. The senator had read that Taylor had to wait a year to see a specialist for three painful herniated discs in her back. "Amnesia doesn't want to end up like Frank Taylor," McConnell said on June 8. "They're already able to get the care they need, when they need it. They don't want to be forced to go up their private health plan or be pushed onto a government plan that doesn't cover their children and the quality of their care."

What Obama says he wants is a "public option"—a government-sponsored insurance plan that individuals could choose to join if they weren't satisfied with their private insurance plan, or if they could not afford one. How it would pay for its returns to be funded isn't—would likely involve a combination of taxpayer dollars to get it started, premiums paid by individuals and businesses who choose to join, and taxpayer subsidies for those who can't afford it. The public option would likely achieve Obama's two main reform goals: reducing out-of-pocket costs and achieving universal coverage in a country where 45 mil-



CHUCK SAW any public option is just a back door to a single-payer plan (see sidebar)

lion remain uninsured. Obama stresses that a public option would be cheaper than private plans because it would be a non-profit operation, and because it never would allow large economies of scale to lower costs, additional savings could come from plugging bad gaps in administrative infrastructure already in place for the public health plan for senior citizens, Medicare.

But critics of a public option say it is merely a "back door" to a single-payer plan. On Tuesday, the two largest groups representing health insurance companies wrote to senators warning them that such an option would "destroy" America's traditional insurance system. "A government-run plan would require how it initially structured—would eliminate employer-based coverage, would restrict income levels for those who remain in private coverage, and add additional li-

abilities to the federal budget," said the letter from the heads of America's Health Insurance Plans and the Blue Cross Blue Shield Association.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Obama dismantled their argument. "Why would it be a drain on our budget?" the President asked. "If private insurers say the market-based provides the best quality health care, why not let the government, which they can't run anything, suddenly jump in there and outbid them? That's not logical." But what whether he would push a public option is a "non-negotiable" element of a health reform bill, the President left himself room to maneuver. "We are still early in the process. We have our own ideas in the mind, and these reform has to control costs and has to provide relief to people who don't have insurance or are under-insured," he said. "Right

now our position is that a public plan makes sense." However, he acknowledged that some conservatives have a "legitimate concern" of the public plan would simply come off the taxpayer through so that it would be hard for private plans to compete.

Devon Smith, a senior fellow in health reform at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, said it is hard to imagine that a public plan would not siphon off taxpayer dollars. He accused proponents of the public option of deceiving people. "When the debate first started, people were very upfront and said, yes, our objective was to get single payer," says Smith. "Now they have come to realize the American

in programs to meet the more reserve requirements in private plans, it would have economies of scale and advantages of lower administrative costs. But private plans will have different advantages."

Obama has asked Congress to work out the details and present him with a bill to sign into law by October. It's a short timeline for a massive reform, but Obama wants to move quickly while he enjoys public support, arguing that the growing costs of health care are weighing on the economic recovery. He noted that Americans spent over \$2 trillion a year on health care—almost 90 percent more per person than did most most countries—and that within 10 years, one out of every five dollars will go toward health care. He has said the bill should achieve universal coverage, but should not contribute to the already jaw-dropping U.S. government deficit, which is \$385.7 trillion for this fiscal year.

For now, public opinion appears to be on Obama's side. A *New York Times*/CBS News poll conducted in mid-June found that 72 percent of those questioned supported a government-administered insurance plan that would compete for customers with private insurers. Twenty-eight said they were opposed. The public option also has strong support in the U.S. House of Representatives, where Democrats enjoy a healthy majority and Speaker Nancy Pelosi is committed to the cause. "I'm sympathetic we have a public option on the House that will be ready" she said on June 19. "If it's not real, it's not us doing. And if we don't do a public option, I'm not there."

But the Senate is a different story. There is weaker support there for a public option, and anxiety about deficit spending and government's over-expanding role. The Congressional Budget Office sent bills through sessions when it announced that one bill that would subsidize health insurance for poor have an effective public health care reform as we wish."

But the Senate is a different story. There is weaker support there for a public option, and anxiety about deficit spending and government's over-expanding role. The Congressional Budget Office sent bills through sessions when it announced that one bill that would subsidize health insurance for poor



Public opinion is on his side: 72 per cent support a government-run plan

public doesn't want that. Now they are trying to hide what they are trying to do and are saying the public plan will compete with everyone else."

However, Christina Romo, chair of the White House Council of Economic Advisors, has told Congress that the government can health insurance agency that President Obama hopes to create would "never" rely on public money after it is established. As with all sweeping policy reforms, the devil will be in the details, analysts say. "A public plan is not necessarily a drain on the treasury," says Karen Doverspike, director of health policy at the Center for American Progress, a liberal think tank in Washington. "We don't yet know what the plan will be. It may well not be publicly subsidized. It may have to price

people would cost US \$1 million and still leave 10 million people uninsured, while another plan under consideration would cost US \$1.6 trillion. Control Democrats have expressed doubt that a public option could pass in the Senate. There is a strong possibility that an option in favor of a system of regional or state-level health systems owned by non-profit insurers, but they would not have the same bargaining power or economies of scale as a public plan to bring down costs.

Obama has also identified a series of other reforms he wants to act in the health care legislation, among them to bar insurance companies from paying people lined up for pre-existing conditions. He has also called for a variety of new spending, for such initiatives to preventive care, as well as for a major effort to analyze the effectiveness of treatment and tests. As part of the budget passed a few weeks ago, the President also made \$60 billion over 10 years in the Health Reserve Fund. More than half of that is supposed to come from limiting tax deductions for the wealthy Americans. It is also looking for a variety of spending cuts in other government health spending. However, he has not been able to support a major initiative to increase in a country where long lines leads to expensive "defensive" medicine, such as the ordering of extra tests and treatments.

Whether the public option will survive the legislative maneuvering process—and how hard Obama will fight for it—will probably only become clear sometime in the fall when lawmakers begin the arduous task of ironing out House and Senate bills. "That's when we will see the administration get heavily involved to get a compromise that will be happy with," said Doverspike. But Obama remains confident that he can succeed in reducing health care costs and achieving universal health coverage, something that eluded Bill Clinton's doctors. Already, the President has won an agreement from the pharmaceutical industry to reduce its draw on the health care system by the bill billion over the next 10 years by offering lower prices for seniors' drugs. At a June 12 press conference announcing that deal, Obama was buoyant enough to revive an old saying from his presidential campaign. "We, we did it," he said. "We are going to get this done!" ■



ARGENTINA: GUEVARA STRIPS FOR REVOLUTION
The iconic image of Cuban leader Che Guevara has come to symbolize revolution. Now, Che's 34-year-old granddaughter Lydia Guevara will symbolize revolution, too—the "revolution of women," which she promotes in a new PETA ad campaign, warning PETA more than a climate-bell for U.S. climate. The campaign, PETA's first promoting vegetarianism in South America, is set to launch in Argentina, birthplace of Che Guevara who was a pro-

Australia confronts racism

BY KATIE ENGELHART • After weeks of refusing allegations of Australia racism, PM Kevin Rudd may be pulling an about face. In response to a spate of violent attacks against Indian students, Rudd announced Thursday that the world considers a new set of failed laws aimed at curbing violence against overseas students. The introduction would strengthen the powers of police to respond to attacks, and also make "witnessing"



ASSAULT ON A STUDENT IS BLAME Indian students have been victims of violent attacks

violence" against an individual, on the basis of race, a federal offense.

It's a move that was slow in coming. The first of the assaults—which left a 21-year-old student in a coma after he was stabbed with a screwdriver— took place over a month ago. Since then, over a dozen such incidents have been reported. But Australian officials have consistently denied that the students were really attacked. Police said the violence was nothing but protesters' street crime. Indian students note "both" reasons because they were walking alone at night. Rudd quickly dismissed racism as a motive, calling the violence "just a regrettable fact of urban life."

That dismissal sent hundreds to the streets in protest. It also provoked a barrage of criticism in India, which has threatened to sour diplomatic relations between the two countries. Headlines have denounced "racism of 'carry babies'" and admonished Australia's "racist element." The Australian government hopes that the new legal measures will quell the mounting anger among Indian students. But critics charge that they come too late. Early this year, officials launched the Diversity Australia Program in response to media-fueled outrage over two Sydney beaches. But ethnic clashes have still taken place. Now, as the proposed laws are being considered, Rudd wants Indian students to resist taking "vigilante action." ■

The grass-eating boys of Japan

BY KATIE ENGELHART • Herbivore, a Japanese man who eats insects, shoes, sea, has a penchant for nice clothing, and prefers a quiet, less competitive lifestyle. The new class of young men is taking hold in Japan. They are mukashi dōshi—translated as "grass-eating boys" or more commonly, "herbivores." The term was coined in 2006 by gay culture columnist Maki Fukumoto to describe men who challenged traditional ideas about Japanese masculinity. "In Japan, sex is translated as 'relinquishing in flesh,'" she explains. "So I named those boys 'herbivorous boys' since they are not immersed in flesh."

But aren't all that herbivores reject. Just as they disdain old-fashioned alpha males, they scoff at the status-conscious consumerism of their parents' generation. Grass-eating boys aren't big spenders and they don't take flashy vacations. They are close to their mothers, prefer platonic relationships with female friends, are interested in their appearance and have few career ambitions. A subsidiary of Detemix, Japan's largest advertising agency, estimates that 60 per cent of men in their 20s consider themselves grass eaters.

That has people buzzing. Reports chart men's spending on cosmetics and hair products and bemoan the symbolic ramifications that young men no longer consume. Tokyo's *Asahi Shimbun* *Shimbun* writes men need dust their skin and get a haircut in Japan from the toilet while one says, "Well, hello—a Tokyo company—has started selling men's bras." "What is happening to them? Is it a crisis?" asked social critic Takako Moriguchi.

Critics charge that herbivores are at the root of Japan's sluggish economic and fading consumer culture. As well as rejecting the masculine, materialist culture that took off during the '80s, herbivores are also a long way from the archetypal corporate powermen. Still, Japanese women aren't ready to let the grass eaters march just yet. Since men are prepared to be passive, new flocks of aggressive "carnivorous girls" have emerged to take charge themselves. ■

Moscow vs. the 'million-dollar mullet'

BY MICHAEL PARCLAY • Moscow's demanding knote head over Treptov Chichvarkin, a controversial multi-millionaire, and charges of kidnapping and extortion. Chichvarkin, 36, disappeared from Russia last December just before a warrant was issued for his arrest. He surfaced on June 7 in London, where he was spotted smiling conspicuously at a performance of the Italian *La Scala*.

Chichvarkin, dubbed "the million-dollar mullet" by the expensive magazine *Rus*, was one of the country's most successful and

flamboyant entrepreneurs of the last decade. (The title of a 2007 biography translates roughly as "Chichvarkin: The F—ing Genius.") He founded the cellphone company *Sonus* in 1997 and sold it in November 2004 for US\$1.35 billion. But along with financial success

came run-ins with Moscow. In 2006, a dispute over disputed assets led to a government seizure of 167,800 Russian phones, all but 30,000 were returned to the company. Chichvarkin's initial business was changed that summer on the market, an attempt that embarrassed the Russian government before it hosted the 2006 G8 summit.

Chichvarkin's current problems date back to 1994, when *Sonus*'s logging agent was alleged to have stolen US\$1 million worth of cellphones from the company. The man was reportedly held by *Sonus*'s security force until his family was able to repay the debt. Moscow is alleging that Chichvarkin was personally involved in the kidnapping.

The Russian is poised to be the latest player in an ongoing diplomatic feud between Britain and Russia. The U.K. has been granting political asylum to faces of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, including KGB whistle-blower Alexander Litvinenko, who was fatally poisoned in 2006. Britain has demanded that Russia extradite the prime suspect in the case, Andrei Lugovoi, an ally of Putin, to so avail. Also residing in London are former oligarch Boris Berezovsky and Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev. No doubt Chichvarkin's lawyers have been in touch. ■



Romeo is demanding Chichvarkin's extradition



Advertisement

"Powerwalking is the perfect way to start my day!"

NAME: Maureen AGE: 61

SYMPTOMS: Pain and stiffness in the hip joints

DIAGNOSIS: Osteoarthritis (OA)

"Every morning, I lace up my runners and head out for a 4-kilometre powerwalk. I love the feeling – powerwalking gives me more energy, increases my stamina and helps reduce stress. But most of all, I appreciate the health benefits. So I was devastated when I learned that the agonizing pain I was feeling in my hips was caused by osteoarthritis, an incurable condition. I had tried pain relief medication and while it helped with the pain, my stomach reacted badly to it. Then my doctor prescribed a non-steroid anti-inflammatory medication that reduced the pain in my hips and didn't upset my stomach. Now I can walk again – pain-free! I'm back up to 4k every day and I feel great!"

For people with active lifestyles like Maureen, osteoarthritis can be debilitating. It's the result of the cartilage between joints breaking down, which causes joint pain and stiffness. Osteoarthritis affects millions of Canadian adults and can cause significant disability. There's no cure, but you can manage the pain and enjoy an active, healthy lifestyle. Some medications may cause upset stomach, diarrhea and abdominal pain, even ulcers, so talk to your doctor about pain medication with fewer gastrointestinal side effects.

Feel good without feeling bad!
For more information on living with arthritis and the importance of healthy lifestyles, visit

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Brought to you by a prescription drug company



The young man, called herbivore, doesn't want sex

AS THE GLOBE TURNS

The Globe and Mail came up with a plan for surviving the newspaper revolution. It didn't include its editor.

BY ANNE KINGSTON

Phil Crawley is standing in his downtown Toronto office, showing off the *Globe and Mail* of the future, which looks very much like the *Globe and Mail* of the present—only smaller and sleeker than that. This is the 18-inch wide by 21-inch deep prototype of a new format slated for rollout in the fall of 2000. The *Globe's* CEO and publisher is particularly struck about the new capacity to re-position on closed stock where desired, reflected by the many stacked up high end sales, among them a full page for the jewellery Tiffany & Co., whose vertical blue background permits a lucrative sale on the printed advertising landscape. Finally, he says, the *Globe* will be able to offer advertisers face-to-face colour, rather than the weeks required by magazines. "That's a significant advantage."

Recognized now as Crawley by the actual guy that he signed an 11-year, \$1.5-billion printing deal with Transcontinental Inc. in August 2000, minutes before the economic downturn derailed advertising sales and 14-hour news cycles were replaced by DuPont in the current print media landscape, the commitment seems a high-stakes gamble by the self-invented "Canada's National Newspaper"—older the 117th century equivalent of investing in state of the art bridge technology at the turn of the 20th century or a shared organizational vision of how people will still want to read news two decades hence.

The news about newspapers of late has been bleak. Earlier this month, the New York Times Co., beset by losses, fired Golden Sachs and the *Times* *Globe*, which acquired in 1991 for US\$1.1 billion. The money losing San Francisco Chronicle, with whose Transcontinental signed a 15-year printing con-

tract in 2000, is on the brink of being shut down or sold. Reported outlets such as the 146-year-old Rocky Post (underground) and 150-year-old Rocky Mountain News have shifted operations completely online. In late May, the Newspaper Association of America gathered top executives in Chicago to share ideas about how to preserve traditions of newsgathering in a digital age. Last week, the association reported that newspapers are increasingly being read online, a platform they have yet to figure out how to monetize; the number of unique visitors to U.S. newspaper websites grew by one per cent in the first three months of 2000 compared to the same period in 1999. (Similar statistics aren't avail-

able for Canadian newspapers but anecdotal reports suggest a similar trend.)

In the essay "Newspapers and Thinking the Unthinkable," now made thanks to Clay Shirley lays out a compelling rationale for why newspapers are not dying. "It makes increasingly less sense even to talk about publishing industry, because the core problem, publishing, solves—the considerable difficulty, complexity, and expense of making something available to the public—has stopped being a problem," Shirley writes.

Yet the British born Crawley, a 64-year-old Fleet Street veteran, expresses confidence about the future of print pressed on newspaper, even as the *Globe* looks into other delivery systems, such as kiosks and e-readers. "But people don't want to get it that way," he says, a fact another industry veteran shrugs up to him. "Newspapers still have formal requirements partly because baby boomers don't want to change." Of Shirley's thesis, Crawley is dismissive. "There are a million experts out there. But not many (include) with a track as solid."

As Crawley presumes it, the *Globe*, the country's rising, also broadsheet of record, differs from many American papers. "We said to us a lot of advertising, don't lump us together, we're not all equal," he says. What makes the *Globe* special, he says, is its ability to deliver an all-encompassing package to advertisers. That he attributes to the paper's strong brand identity, stemming from its respected journalists and the fact it projects a world view through Crawley's eyes in a platform of first sign correspondence, unlike most U.S. papers which cut back on bureaus and turned to syndicated copy. He boasts of the support of its parent CTVglobemedia, a private company whose stakeholders include BCE Inc. (37 per cent), Temco Corporation (30 per cent), Ontario Teachers' Plan Board (25 per cent), and the Woodbridge Company Limited, the private holding company for the billionaire Thomson family (40 per cent). Being partly owned by Canada's richest clan, who also own Thomson Reuters, is a strength, says Crawley. "These people have a stake in us on a global scale over decades."

The paper's circulation drop—to some 295,000 on weekdays and 160,000 on weekends, as of March 31, down markedly from five years ago—was deliberate, the publisher says, the result of putting an end to free copy subscriptions and ad sales to boost circulation numbers, a legacy of the battle with the *National Post*. "We're making more as much money," he says. Combining print and online, readership is larger than it has ever been, at 2.9 million a week. The paper's fully paid subscription base remains steady, Crawley says. "That's the gold standard."

Still, the *Globe's* venerable history doing back to that hasn't translated it from industry risk. Revenues have slid in key advertising markets: jobs and careers, real estate and automotive. The paper laid off 10 staff earlier this year, its first job cuts since the 1982 recession. Last weekend, its union announced an unanimously rejected a proposed six-year contract that demands wage roll-backs for 30 per cent of staff, a week's unpaid vacation, extended work hours without additional pay, a pension plan restructuring that would cut benefits by up to 30 per cent for future retirees, and the ability to reassign jobs. A strike or lockout could take place as midnight June 30.

Crawley is known to thrive on such cuts. When he arrived in Canada in 1968 as the *Globe's* president and CEO, his first task was to save off the spent General Black-backed Murdoch Post. Named publisher and CEO in 1999, he inherited the U.K. veteran Fleet Street journalists to turn up the "Gray Lady of Fleet Street." With him was then editor in chief William Thomson, upon whom he was relying for success in Richard Alden. That alliance is now long over, the *Belts* severed home, and the *Post's* current owner, CarWest Global Communications, is scrambling to reconstruct its massive debt to avoid bankruptcy protection.

Now Crawley faces not mere war, but industry revolutions through he prefers the garden route "learning point." The paper has no longer depend on tradition as sources of revenue, he says. "People who do that will go the way of the Dodo." For his confidence

in this time, he has looked not without, but within, effected an in-house speed management shakeup on May 21 that saw John Stockhouse, the editor of the *Report on Business* section, replace editor in chief Edward Greenstein, along with a repositioning of vice



PHILIP CRAWLEY, CEO and publisher, *Globe and Mail*

presidents on the digital and Internet side.

A memo sent out to staff spoke vaguely of the need for "new skills and different styles of leadership." Crawley re-

fuses to discuss specifics, only to say the management shift was "a signal change at work's personal." He appears vexed that there's interest in the business dissemination of the story, even though it provides a lens into the *Globe's* politics and power economy. "It's the beating on of the media that you personalize the and saved into 'It's all about John Stockhouse and John Greenstein,'" says Crawley. "But the future of the newspaper is to say this world is changing fast, every department is being reshaped."

Generally newspaper editors' departures are not necessarily outside of the newspaper's their lifespan tend to be slightly longer than hockey coaches. And the 53-year-old Greenstein, an owl, whose name would have with the *Globe* 25 years had seven years since he'd worked as the London based assistant correspondence, Ottawa based as chief, before on Business chief and founding editor of *globemedia* before being named editor in chief. During his tenure he presided over "several strikes," a much belated credit of the paper that yielded changes that didn't threaten to revolutionize the medium; it has new website, and a "Life" section providing parenting and relationship columns and workplace stress advice.

His savior became a charming side selling point because of cowardice, albeit expert, devoted within the *Globe's* Kyrillology as a signal of how tough Crawley can be—as well as with the onset of union negotiations.

Only the week previously Greenstein had proudly rolled out redesigned *globemedia* and, started in an online video era, endorsing the Web team. At the National Newspaper Awards in Montreal the previous Fri-

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ECONOWATCH

A WEEKLY SCORECARD ON THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IN NORTH AMERICA AND BEYOND



STEVE MACH

On a day when the Canadian stock market plunges by more than 500 points and the Dow Jones Industrial Average tumbles by 180, it's tough to suggest that we need to start planning for the economic recovery. And yet, there was Jacques Alimurrahman, economic and monetary affairs commissioner for the European Union, urging all OECD countries to start preparing exit strategies for this downturn before it's too late. "We cannot afford to get out of this recession missing 100 indicators that will be the signs of the next crisis," Alimurrahman said.

No doubt he's right. Over the past year, governments have pumped unprecedented amounts of money into the global economy. Major banks and corporations have been bailed out, propped up and then slashed. Interest rates have been slashed to nothing. That may have averted the worst-case meltdown scenario, but it generates a lot of questions in the world's brains to pull out of this mess. Trillions of dollars in debt money is currently sloshing through the economy. Will the system be able to soak up all this extra capital before it triggers runaway inflation? Now that governments have committed themselves to massive deficit spending over the next few years, can lawmakers find the political courage to rebalance their budgets in time to avert a massive deterioration of the debt market?

These are all critically important questions, but for now they remain on the back burner because the recovery is still in doubt. The World Bank is now projecting the global economy will shrink by 2.9 percent this year, and there are plenty of warning signs pointing to a worst case scenario on the stock markets. For instance, the daily volume of trading has fallen off sharply since March. That suggests that while major investors haven't been aggressively buying stocks yet, they're not exactly looking at the share as a buy or a poor investment.

But that's the trouble with monetary and fiscal policy decisions of this magnitude. The crisis that swept the global economy over the past year was unprecedented. So were the actions taken to contain it. Managing the recovery will require a period, ranging from six to 18 months, of no spending. But how and when? If you wait until the money is under way before you begin to take your foot off the gas pedal, then it's too late. More than a year, and this global economic crisis will collapse. Alimurrahman's warnings are serious. So is the fragility of the global economy. Nobody ever said this would be easy. ■

OVERDRAWN by Jason Logan

CONSUMER CONFIDENCE



THE GOOD NEWS

Leading the way

The Conference Board's index of leading indicators is perhaps the barometer of all economic activity on the horizon of the economy, and it climbed in March.

shows that optimism has been steadily improving since late March. And while businesses still don't plan to do much hiring or investment, a consensus is building that this year, the economy will look a lot better.

Not relief

In case you hadn't noticed, this hasn't been such a hot year for your finances. Statistics Canada reports that household net worth fell by \$77.1 billion in the first quarter, thanks to drops in stock prices and real estate values. But that was also better than the second half of 2008, when net worth plunged by \$43.8 billion—another stat that's still getting worse, but more slowly.



Feeling finicky

Confidence continues to rise around the world. Moody's weekly global confidence index

THE BAD NEWS

World Bank bemoans

Perhaps it shouldn't have been a big surprise, but the latest World Bank outlook forecast for the world's economies is bleak. The bank estimates that the economies of the world will shrink this year and post only small growth in 2009, down from a projected 3.6 percent in 2007 and 2008. The bank warned that this is likely the beginning of an "era of lower growth." That dark outlook was enough to spark a run on the world's stock markets, with the S&P 500 dropping 451 points.

Retail retreat

Canada's major retailers saw a recovery stalled in April, with sales declining 0.9 percent. The weakness was particularly evident in "big stores" such as electronics and furniture.

driven with prices for durable goods at 16-year lows, consumers were opting to buy used cars and homes and resist new durables jobs losses.

Feeling exhausted

The impact of the recession is showing up clearly in the number of Americans relying on social services to get by. A new analysis by the Wall Street Journal shows the number of people on state welfare programs is up sharply this year. And while the banks collecting jobless benefits have thinned, that's not really a sign of people finding work. The survey also found that 10 percent of people who are up at their least hours find a job for less than \$10 an hour.



GRAPH OF THE WEEK

CANADA'S DEFICIT BALLOONS... according to the Statistics Canada report, Canada's deficit for the first quarter of 2009 is \$1.1 billion, or 0.1 percent of GDP.



SIGNS OF THE TIMES



► Kodak has finally taken the digital camera away. It was the first commercially popular camera, and became an iconic brand. But in 1975, Kodak's first digital camera was unveiled. It was a 100,000 dollar camera, which is why it remained a niche product. But now, Kodak is finally taking the digital camera away. It was the first commercially popular camera, and became an iconic brand. But in 1975, Kodak's first digital camera was unveiled. It was a 100,000 dollar camera, which is why it remained a niche product. But now, Kodak is finally taking the digital camera away.

BUY AMERICAN

Consumers who buy American goods are helping to support the American economy. The American economy is the largest in the world, and it's the only one that's growing. So, if you want to help the American economy, buy American.



"We have put an enormous amount of liquidity into the system. If it's allowed to remain in place, it will keep us afloat. It's a very low interest rate for a period of time, but we do risk an inflationary outbreak." —Kansas City Fed's President Thomas Hoenig

"At every level of the economy and every level of society, the demand for cash is unprecedented. If the Fed didn't meet that demand for cash, we'd have a deflationary spiral on our hands." —David A. Rosenberg, chief economist and strategist, Gluskin Sheff & Associates

"If you take a little thing called energy out, inflation is still relatively high." —Douglas Porter, head of Montreal economist

"I think we're going to wind up with an anemic decade." —Brian Foltz, chief U.S. economist, BNP Paribas

"[The] most challenging scenario of a slow recovery undermines hopes for a V-shaped recovery, as low growth and deflationary pressures constrain earnings and profit margins. The increase in some asset prices may, moreover, lead to a W-shaped, double dip recession. In particular, threats to monetary liquidity, energy prices are now rising too high are seen." —Norbert Ruckert, professor of economics, New York University Stern School of Business

THE ECONOGAUGE

Our weekly estimate of the prevailing mood among investors and consumers



THE WEEK AHEAD

THURSDAY, JUNE 25: Statistics Canada will report the level of employment, earnings and hours for the month of April. FRIDAY, JUNE 26: The University of Michigan will release its Consumer Sentiment Survey. An April report on the housing market. WEDNESDAY, JULY 1: Auto Canada Corp. will report U.S. auto sales for the month of June. Sales are expected to dip slightly but likely will recover extremely well, and will below levels seen in recent years.

BATTLE OF THE BAG

Is the plastic bag an environmental bogeyman or not?

BY PETER BRAWN TAYLOR • It could be worse. Cathy Crink could be the chief of police for the South End neighborhood of Paris, or the Mouquet Brothers Association. As it is, Crink is vice president of the Canadian Plastics Industry Association and the country's chief advocate of plastic shopping bags.

The once ubiquitous plastic bag has quickly become an environmental bogeyman in Canada. Earlier this month, city councilors over litter and landfill, Toronto launched decision by-laws mandating by-laws requiring all stores to charge a five cents per bag fee to discourage their use. Several areas, including Toronto, Depue and Canada's largest grocer, Loblaws Canada, have taken the fee enthusiastically. Reinforced by the speed with which this policy has moved, environmental groups are now telling us of the day when plastic bags will seem as repulsive as flight smoking sections.

"It's taking off everywhere as people realize that this is the next right thing to do," says Steven Price, the senior conservation director of the World Wildlife Fund.

Tallied with the recent tide of defending plastic bags in the face of this momentum, Crink has fought back with a host of independent scientific studies and government data that appear to undercut the substance arguments made against the bag. "Even if we assume every plastic bag went straight to the dump, it would only represent 2 per cent of the 23 million tonnes we send to landfills annually," she says, citing federal and provincial data.

And she points to a 2007 Decima poll that found more than eight out of 10 Canadians round their shopping bags for household garbage or pet waste.

She also cites 2006 City of Toronto records, which said that estimated 4,500 individual pieces of garbage at 100 mm citywide. Of this total, 2,100 were plastic bags, just six per cent of total litter.

"Bags are not a litter issue and they are not a landfill issue," she says. "And we have the numbers to show that. Unfortunately, this has become an emotional issue rather than a debate based on facts. It is very frustrating." She argues municipal efforts would be better directed towards recycling plastic rather than discouraging its use.

Gloria de Baerencaster, a Toronto councillor, is the architect of his city's bag by-law. The ardent environmentalist disputes the notion that bags are a minor issue. "Nothing is insignificant," he says. "We are drowning in a sea of garbage. So we are cutting

BASED ON EVIDENCE, A BAN ON FISHING LINE, PLASTIC BOTTLES OR CIGARETTES MAKES MORE SENSE



TORONTO Stores must now charge customers five cents per plastic bag

after plastic bags and we are coming after everything else that's bigger as well." From disposable coffee cups to consumer electronics, it's all in the sights. De Baerencaster argues that beyond the practical benefits of reducing landfill usage, if only by a tiny amount, his campaign is emblematic of a broader issue: "The plastic bag is a symbol of our wasteful and gluttonous lifestyle. It is time to change."

Sell, as he said, is even the issue that the plastic bag created a largely political statement. The bags, for instance, are frequently held up as the biggest blight on the world's oceans. But this month, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) released

a major report on marine waste which cited garbage cleanups along the Mediterranean Sea showing plastic bags accounted for just 0.5 per cent of total marine litter. Cigarettes and cigars were 37 per cent, plastic bottles, 20 per cent. With respect to management of marine life, a 2007 study identified fishing nets, lines and ropes as being responsible for over 70 per cent of such incidents. Plastic bags, including garbage and shopping bags, caused less than 10 per cent. The report recommended that bag use be "discouraged" in coastal areas. Instead, the executive director of the UNEP, Achim Steiner, issued a press release calling for a sweeping worldwide ban on "persistent" plastic bags based on the evidence, a ban on fishing line, plastic bottles or cigarettes would make more sense.

Then there's the possibility that, regardless of the symbolism, economy plastic bags might simply be better than their alternatives. Crink also commissioned two independent labs to compare the health implications of replacing plastic shopping bags with reusable woven "green" bags. Bags mandatorily obtained from shoppers were tested for bacteria, yeast, mold and E. coli. The results were then interpreted by Dr. Richard Summerville, the former chair of medical microbiology for Ontario.

The tests found surprisingly high levels of bacteria in two-thirds of the reusable bags. One-third had levels above those set for safe drinking water. The fact that some people used the bags to carry items other than food—groceries or other supplies—greatly increased the risk.

"This already provided strong evidence that reusable bags could pose a significant risk to the safety of the food supply if used to transport food from store to home," Dr. Summerville concluded. He recommended that all must be double-wrapped before being placed in reusable bags and that the bags themselves be washed and disinfected regularly. None of the throwaway bags were found to be contaminated in any way. ■



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JUDGING BEVERLEY

Canada's chief justice has won respect—but not always admiration

BY PHILIP SCATTON

The 10th anniversary of Beverley McLachlin's appointment as chief justice of Canada will come early next year, on Jan. 7, but commentators are already taking stock. They increasingly speak of the "McLachlin court," and try to pin down ways she's changed or influenced the court's direction. Her formal powers are limited—the most significant is determining the size of a panel (five, seven or nine judges) hearing a case, and, if it's less than the full complement of nine, deciding the panel's composition. But as the court's insider head and public face, her informal ability to influence the other judges and set the tone is considerable. To the country, and to the world, she is the Supreme Court of Canada. She is often described as the most powerful person in the land. But what do we know about Beverley McLachlin, and how has she measured up in high public office?

There was nothing remarkable about McLachlin's life until she began her daunting climb to judicial power. She was born in 1943, in Pincher Creek, Alta. It's a town of about 3,600, two hours south of Calgary—a place with few Aboriginal or visible minorities, where almost everyone owns the house they live in. McLachlin was the first of three and Bessie's fifth of five children. The family worked a ranch northwest of town and, as a result, and her parents were fondness for Christmas, she has described them as "dissected believers" and of "high moral values." As a child, she attended a Protestant church.

McLachlin speaks of a deep affection for Pincher Creek and its values. "You had this sense of privilege that you were living in this very special place, even though it was remote and not very important." In a 2004 interview, she said that her small-town, old-fashioned background had a considerable effect on her

work as a judge. "I think I have a very strong sense of a connection between people and place. Understanding that it is important to the law that the law be made in a place where people want to be, what kind of culture they want to have the right to foster, geographically, culturally and so on." She has said that she drinks her hometown every day. A painting by Robert McInnes called *Pincher Creek*, showing wheat fields and a farmhouse, hangs in her Supreme Court office.

McLachlin followed a conventional path after high school, with little along the way to suggest future eminence. She went to Edmonton too in 1960 to study philosophy at the University of Alberta with the vague and traditional idea of becoming a teacher. In 1965, B.A. in hand, she enrolled in the University of Alberta law school and, three years later, graduated at the top of her class. In between, she married Barry McLachlin, a biologist and environmental consultant, whom she met on campus. She once said: "He was the type of man who smoked his own salmon, made his own wine, cut his own wood."

McLachlin practised law for just five years, in Alberta and then in B.C., before joining the law faculty of the University of British Columbia as an associate professor. In April 1984, at age 35, she was appointed to the Vancouver County Court. She has acknowledged that being a woman may have helped. "Gender may have been a factor because at that time, there were very few women on the courts and they were looking for more, and there weren't a lot of women out there to choose from." This was when she began to learn French, a useful thing to do for an Anglophone aspiring to higher office. Within just a few months, she was appointed to the Supreme Court of British Columbia. "I think I got some dialogue in this huge case of *procurator*—we have six women judges, what are we going to do about it? And there was one that looked not too bad so they pushed me up very quickly."

By 1985, she'd been elevated to the Court of Appeal, and just three years after that, her 12-year-old son Angus packed up the phone one September evening and took a message from the prime minister. Brian Mulroney was calling to offer his mother the job of chief justice of the B.C. Supreme Court. Three days later, her husband Barry died of throat cancer. "He put his career on the back burner and put mine first—Barry did a lot of the child-rearing. Forty-two Angus had to go on emergency, it always seems it was Barry without it. He used to use to do other things." Within six months, Mulroney was calling again, this time to appoint McLachlin to the Supreme Court of Canada. The president of the Law Society of British Columbia commented that she'd made it through the court

truth: CANADIAN. No ethnic background here, McLachlin is mainstream all the way.



Is she a true leader, or just an agreeable legal technocrat? The jury is still out.

system faster than most cases.

McLachlin's first decade on the Supreme Court did not say characteristic. Several of her more important judgments appeared to those on the right—the 1995 *RJR-McDonald* case, for example, where she held that a federal ban on tobacco advertising was an infringement of the right to self-expression. But many of her judgments were attractive to the left—the 1998 *Vriend* decision, for instance, in which she said that the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms required Alberta to pass legislation to protect gay rights. She was not afraid to dissent, as academic study found that in her last decade she agreed with the majority less than half the time. Some considered her a judge for all seasons, not noted in any particular view of the law, but all agreed she had poise, composure, and an impressive work ethic.

And she was a woman. When, in 1999,

senator Lester announced he would resign as chief justice in the beginning of 2000, her phone rang more than 200 times a week from women's groups calling. In answering her appointment as chief justice, Chrétien said, "It was a great opportunity to have, for the first time, a woman as chief justice of Canada." Professor emeritus Peter Russell, a long-time commentator on the Supreme Court, has said, "I think Chrétien, like Mulroney, loved the political spin factor."

McLachlin's appointment was widely hailed, particularly by the legal community, which is traditionally sympathetic to these women. She was described as "the ideal person for the job": wise, energetic, sophisticated, practical, loyal, unfailingly polite, open-minded and someone whose "unorthodox sense of humour and witlessness." She was even described as "photogenic," undoubtedly the first chief justice to receive this compliment.

in Bachellier, a twentysix residential area of Ottawa, where every morning the chief justice takes her two Labrador retrievers for a walk in a nearby park. She likes to cook, listen to country music, play the piano, and listen to opera, particularly Mozart. Like many lawyers, she likes the way words work. She has written fiction: there are two unpublished novels, a mystery with a woman lawyer as the central character, and a historical novel set in Alberta. She reads Alice Munro and Margaret Atwood, and Fred Stenson, an Alberta writer of historical fiction.

There is little doubt about how lively McLaughlin's sterling personal qualities are. Just about everyone—although not quite everyone—seems to agree about those. But many people who are kindred and good-willed, likeable and open-minded, dissent from glowing remarks. Some point to what they think is her subtle racism. Still, someone on the inside suggested that, when it was suspected that Antonio Lamer would soon be resigning in chief justice, McLaughlin was careful not to be directly affiliated with any judgments that might prove controversial. In Saskatchewan, for instance, "no one wants to" issued another law that did not pass the five judges who agreed with Justice Jean Major's majority opinion, or those who sat with Chief Lamer because of the aggressive-concerning reasons which severely criticized the Alberta Court of Appeal. Instead, McLaughlin gave out statements that were not concerning judgments that were or less agreed with everyone.

But the vote without revenge. On the 1990 Kergan case, for example, on appeal from her home province of Alberta, McLachlin was one of three dissenting judges; she concluded that Criminal Code provisions, which made promoting hatred against an identifiable group (in this case, Jews) a crime, were unconstitutional as contrary to freedom of expression. "That was a brave thing to do for an ambitious woman," I was told.

the third of the life of the 1962 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and chief justice for over a third of his life. The case of "judicial review" had become paramount during those years. In a June 1997 speech to a Canadian Bar Association conference in Ottawa, he declared the activist debate over. But, despite an apparent and seeming moderation and restraint, his theoretical view of the court's power has become increasingly robust as time goes by. In a provocative lecture given in New Zealand in December 2005, he said the court must enforce norms that "transcend the law and executive action." Some of his New Zealand themes echoed a lecture at

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prent Singapore shortly after being appointed chief justice, in which she discussed the "global resurgence" of judicial power. In Singapore, McLachlin argued that a proper understanding of democracy allows considerable room for judicial law making.

What effect has this had on Chambers? That's the kind of question that pundits and think-tank organizations like to ask as they first divide at The Chieftain's second. Answers are elusive. Benjamin Alarie and Andrew Green, of the University of Toronto's law faculty, recently did a quantitative analysis of 185 decisions under the Charter that have been decided by the court over the last 30 years. They concluded that McLaughlin's voting pat-

General Lee? Here, commentators think they see a trend to favour the Greens and the piglets, rather than the accused. Queen's University law professor David Street was reported as saying at the time: "CIA conf-

ence that a law-and-order bias has crept into recent Supreme Court Chamber decisions. What of fundamental freedoms—the freedoms of association, expression and religion? A March 19 press full article by a leading analyst notes that in the 2005 Loayza case, for example, she wrote the judgment for a seven-judge majority which found the operation of a commercial union club did not involve acts of violence (which would have made it a crime).

Another interesting question has been asked by women activists: how did she come to be so angry about her decision? That debate began in 1990, when MacLachlin had been in court on the matter for less than two years. In June, a rape case, she dismissed from the Supreme Court judgment given by the grand female judge and her colleagues, Justice Gauthier, in the case of *R v. Jordan*. The appeal had been charged with sexual intercourse with a woman under the age of 14. They thought she was older, but the Criminal Code said that belief was not a defence. The appellants said that provision infringed on the Charter, which provides that every individual is equal before the law, because only men could be charged under the section. While disagreed.

"There are certain biological realities that are accepted upon and that it is generally agreed that the definition of adultery as a crime," MacLachlin told me in conversation in the Wilson apartment. She said the prosecution "burdened men in a disproportionate way." It was a very different perspective from the one she offered previously in opposing double standards which it does not exist in your opinion. As a woman's lawyer.

There name the prisoners, the 1991 *Prison Shipboard Case*. Did the Central/Colby's rape-plus-prisoners infringe the principles of fundamental justice or the right to a fair trial found in *Charter*? They restricted the right of the defence to cross examine and lead evidence of a complainant's previous sexual conduct. The *Law* gave the reasons for a seven times majority. The dissenters, who were not named, expressed unimpaired *Sid McInnes*'s *Law* which prevents the trial of fair going at the truth by excluding relevant evidence in the absence of clear ground of policy or law justifying the exclusion runs afoul of our fundamental conceptions of justice which constitutes a fair trial." Some *Law* dissenters were outraged. In fact, in the 1993 *Hyman* case, a dissenting *Law* dissent, the *Law* was cited as the basis for the *Law* of the cost of a *Law* discriminated against working women. In this act is so many other acts the *Law* dissenters can be easily heard.

One of McLachlin's priorities was to shift justice's focus to make the court more open. Transparent legal processes, she says, build public confidence in the legal system. She promised a policy that, since February, has seen cases before the court

CONSENSUS, above all, not originality, is what seems to count for the chief justice



webcast and then archived, available to anyone with Internet access, a deep patent in the Supreme Court cases, said, it has to be used as a list of patience. "You'll see it's not the public appeal and usefulness of each technical reform is limited. For the Supreme Court of Canada, inconsistency seems to have narrow meaning and scope. The chief justice, along with the other nine Supreme Court judges, generally does anger any thing other than formal and controlled controversy, and sometimes even that. [McGee] declined to be interviewed for this story.

It's a different environment here than in the United States, where dogged journalists, aggressive politicians and restless law professors track every soap and utterance of Supreme Court justices, and where the judges are willing, even eager to be part of the nation's discourse—giving interviews, writing books and recently being available (five of the nine current judges have written books while sitting on the court). Perhaps U.S. Supreme Court justices believe that publicizing about what they do and think is good in itself, a part of the robust American democracy process, and a particularly

appropriate for scheduled public officials with life course.

A recent incident demonstrates the significance of our own Supreme Court. David Weiden is a professor of political science at Indiana University-Purdue University. In 2006, he published *Sovereigns' Apprentices*, a book about law clerks at the U.S. Supreme Court. Weiden became interested in their Canadian counterparts, and was given a research grant by the Canadian government to study their "impact and influence." He sent a survey to all former law clerks, hundreds of them, none however had clerked with 20 or 40 years ago.

Our Supreme Court was not amused. On June 3, Jill Copeland, the court's executive legal officer, sent an email to former clerks. It accused Wisdom of giving out "inaccurate

information" about the user's paper on his survey, a serious charge against anyone doing a professor-pursuing research. It also said participating in the survey would violate confidentiality obligations which "are not limited to information about cases, but also extend to internal processes of each jurist's chambers." Weston was baffled, the fact not been an issue in the United States. Some former Canadian law clerks were puzzled by the sweeping prohibition, some assumed it as overcautious.

[illegible]

Not everyone is a member of the Beverly Hills McLaughlin fan club. It is said she is not the court's unofficial leader; if there is one issue, observers would pick Justice Ian Binnie, although others consider Binnie too much of a laissez-faire leader. One Supreme Court veteran said, "McLaughlin's not a Boris Yeltsin, or a Bill Clinton [both previous

A FEW STARS TOO MANY

The family of an 18-year-old Belgian girl suing a tattoo parlor for covering her face in 58 stars may have to reconsider. The girl said she asked for three stars, then "fell asleep" while being inked and awoke to find her face "vandalized." The shop owner claimed she was "awake all the time" and problems only began when her father saw the tattoos and became angry. He was right: the girl has admitted she fell and got exactly what she asked for.

WHO'S
SLING
WHOM

chief justice? What the judge or writer doesn't carry the same kind of weight."

Green Laidlaw, a night wing school, has described McLachlin as "clever and dignified." "A door observer of the Supreme Court commented that the judge 'conveys an air of respect for people' and 'will settle together just about anything to achieve agreement' (Nine times, personally McLachlin advised a frequent dinner in Ottawa). A senior lawyer who has appeared many times before the court said she must admit it was a part of government. "She's always moving to the center, she's not prepared to be outrageous, and I think that's a problem. It's a court of justice, not a government department." Another told me, "The more often during that it should be 'sometimes direct on major moral issues, and that is essential'."

A former law clerk to one of McLachlin's predecessors as chief justice, who has since appeared often before the Supreme Court, said that McLachlin seems overly concerned by her role. "She seems to think she's the person of last resort." Another former clerk said, "She lives her prerogative as chief justice, like being deputy governor general." "She presides at all," an Ottawa insider told me. "As a dinner speech she made, and she was very strong. People started clapping with each other before she had finished." A very recent federal politician said, "Beverly McLachlin has never had an original idea."

There will always be mysteries. Despite their complaints, Beverly McLachlin has done a good job in chief justice. Her competence and talent, and so, we must continue with her as only Canadian can be. But, McLachlin is a true leader, or just an agreeable legal colleague? Where is the articulated vision, from the body politic, of better law in society? The jury will come on the answers to these questions. McLachlin has almost 30 years before the mandatory retirement age of 75 to put our minds at rest.

If there were a questionnaire Canadian, the might be Beverly McLachlin. His life background shows that from a small town, the child of deeply religious parents, educated well but not in foreign schools and universities, never divorced but having open life as a single mother after her first husband died, mainstream all the way, even-handed and even tempered, meditative and cautious, globally aware, most self-aware, perhaps most sensitive—and certainly better—than most. ■

Philip Skyles is a former deputy of a Canadian law school, and was partner of a major law firm, the working of a book about the Supreme Court of Canada where he now clerks.

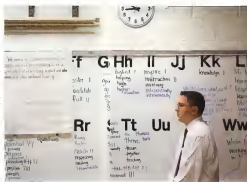
WHY IT'S SO HARD TO FIRE BAD TEACHERS

Most principals would rather hide or transfer incompetent teachers than try to oust them

BY RACHEL HENNINGSEN • What is to be done? Ontario principal to rid her school of an incompetent teacher is a process she's not fond of referring. It began in September 2009, when she observed a teacher whose performance was already under review. Despite a file thick with evidence of inadequacy, the principal helped draft an "improvement plan"—a requirement in the provincial Education Act—and dipped into school funds to pay for substitutes while the struggling teacher attended workshops. But, says the junior school principal, it was an error that there was "a serious, basic problem of not understanding"—which contributed after the teacher knew she was under review. Students shuffled through reading levels without proof of assessment. Parents complained about spelling test words they never sent home. And the teacher withdrew and gazed for computer class when, in fact, her "ability to use technology" meant the situation "went easily carried on," says the principal. Still, a task master of paperwork and meetings with union representatives before she was able to ask even one step closer to dismissal. "It was very upsetting," she says. "I wouldn't choose to do it again unless I absolutely had to."

Adapting teaching has been shown to contribute to dropout rates, low test scores and a dislike for school. So severe are the implications, says a literature review, an assistant principal in Virginia, that poor teaching is tantamount to "educational malpractice." Yet in Canada, teacher-union contracts prompt school administrators to pursue termination at the Ontario principal's request that not even the parent after school had been published, because it would almost certainly identify her. According to Bernie Bennett, a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the dismissal process is daunting, the risk of legal action is high, and it's not worth the effort. "Instead, they appear to transfer, or hide struggling teachers where their deficiencies can go unnoticed." The result, however, is a system that keeps incompetent teachers in the classroom.

The fact that more bad teachers aren't being fired is "a problem that nobody wants to talk



BERNIE BENNETT The teacher selection process is "testing the limit"

about," says Ministry, who authored a 2009 study on the subject. Despite various indicators about five per cent of every year's new hires is incompetent, his uncovered a truth about his district he describes as "astonishing" less than one-tenth of one per cent of trained teachers were being dismissed annually for poor performance. When viewed through this lens, the Canadian numbers are even more damning. Of the roughly 100,000 educators licensed by the Ontario College of Teachers to teach, only 27 have been terminated due to poor performance since 2004—on an annual average of just 0.002 per cent. In the past five years, only a single permanent teacher has been dismissed for incompetent in the largest school boards in Montreal and Winnipeg. Saskatchewan Public Schools has dismissed just one, and in Edmonton Public Schools, says a spokeswoman, "very few if any" have been let go.

While a system of annual or physical action is clearly grounds for dismissal (as well as a public reprimand), when contracts and teacher-union agreements are in place, it's a teacher, Ministry says he had a colleague who gave "no grades at all." When filling out report cards, that teacher would

ask someone to determine what grades each student had received on other subjects, and "give them the same," he says. While working for Edmonton Public Schools, Bennett once offered up notes to a teacher who would not let his unruly students in class between the classroom and the hall. "Some times, I'd come to his classroom and there would be 10, 11 kids out in the hallway," he says.

In most provinces, teacher incompetence is formally defined. It long before termination is even a possibility, principals must document alleged incompetence, often for the better part of a year. "It's very slow motion and time-consuming," says the Ontario principal. "You have to make sure the union will give you a 'Although the teacher in this case left before she could be formally fired, the principal says a grievance remains a possibility. But if inadequate teachers are being overlooked, says Frank Brackley, president of the Alberta Teachers' Association, it's not the unions that are to blame." "The school boards and the principals need to step up the plate," says Bennett.

IN A GIVEN YEAR, ONTARIO FIRES JUST 0.002% OF ITS TEACHERS FOR POOR PERFORMANCE

to deal with incompetence. They identified "secondary transfer to another school" as the most prevalent. Dismissal, meanwhile, was ranked last. "We all knowingly play this game," says Ministry. "I believe, personally, that we need to get rid of these folks, but I'll be honest, because of the cost and the difficulty of doing so."



"To simply say, 'We're not doing our job because we're scared of the unions,' says to me that they're shirking their responsibility. If we're talking about incompetence, maybe they should be looking in the mirror."

However, an education expert to point out, low dismissal rates don't necessarily mean that bad teachers are staying in the classroom. In the Hall for National School Board (1958), where six teachers have been terminated in the last five years for either professional misconduct or incompetence, an additional 11 have resigned or been removed from their posts of approved substitutes and those under consideration for future dismissals. And according to Mike Christie, director of human resources at HHS, "self-censoring" is a significant safeguard that these numbers don't reveal. "Teachers have got a toughened-up discipline," says Christie. Many of those who are struggling simply take themselves out of the profession," he says.

Still, teachers are well over the in their willing parts. As part of his study, Ministry asked teachers to rank a list of 29 measures that administrators use to deal with incompetence. They identified "secondary transfer to another school" as the most prevalent. Dismissal, meanwhile, was ranked last. "We all knowingly play this game," says Ministry. "I believe, personally, that we need to get rid of these folks, but I'll be honest, because of the cost and the difficulty of doing so."

Finally in getting what you need. But behind, what's a teacher/principal culture, to put it. "She's a fabulous teacher!" This practice, dubbed "passing the trash," is hardly new in Bennett. He says "writing an okay reference letter" as a sign of a competent educator is endemic "for all levels. It's not just teachers in classrooms—it's principals in schools, at central office people too."

Other states give a similar problem. According to a teacher in Ontario's French Catholic board, when one of his colleagues couldn't cut this year, the school "purposely gave her the most difficult classroom." Within months, he says, she "burnt out" and is currently an medical leave. (Virginia teachers also ranked "increased workload to encourage teacher resignation" among tenets.) Officials, Ministry says, building up a teacher to another classroom manager to give them credit. "Where parents won't pick a kid," though there are typically kids who stand in for the most likely quality exception. Many discerning still is something the teachers start up with themselves. The highest ranked was in terms on Ministry's survey: "Ignore the problem."

Not all struggling teachers are beyond help. For some, observing more experienced colleagues or learning to better manage students in all at once is a step in the right direction. To that end, many school administrators are more than willing to offer support outside school, in many school boards, is a lot. As Ministry explains, "We believe that all kids can be successful, and we believe that all teachers can be successful." But in some cases, this culture of acceptance may be blurring the line between effective remediation and a frustrating process. Even the Ontario principal, who says she "had no choice" but to go through with the dismissal, expresses a palpable discomfort. "We're not teachers. We're not meant to do this." However, when incompetent educators are left to teach, whether in a corner of difficult classrooms, in students, or hidden in the school's administrative offices, who pay the ultimate price. ■

X-RATED LESSON DECIDEDLY UN-DISNEY

A group of students gathered in the backroom of a Brooklyn Rite, elementary school were supposed to watch Disney's *Great 800*. But instead of the Jones Brothers, the kids, some as young as five, were shown a violent war-themed music video. The surprise lesson in their midst 48 seconds, until a teacher noticed the power cord from the film apparently, a teacher left the X-rated flick at the school's DVD player.

NOT JOBLESS, THEY'RE 'FUNEMPLOYED'

A wave of grads has no hope of finding work. But that's cool.

BY STEPHAN LEE FINKLEY • When the recession hit, Gordon Love's future changed—maybe, he says, for the better. The recent McGill University graduate had always planned to work at a bank when he completed his master's in geography and minor in economics, but thanks to the recession, he's come to the realization that it's just not going to happen, at least not yet. "It's not really the right time to be going into the market," he says. And so he spent his time doing internships, but now he's gotten up, and he's happier for it. In fact, he says, now he just wants to have fun.

The slower possibility of finding a job in the middle of Canada's worst recession in decades forced him to think, Love says. "Maybe I don't want to grow up so fast. I mean, you can graduate and go into the working world. But then you think 'I'm 22, and I'm never going to be 22 again.'"

So instead of pouring the pavement in a sea of destruction—and little frustration—again for a real job, he's decided to enjoy his summer in Montreal instead. He's saving up money working at a Mexican bar before setting off to London in September, and then to Vietnam for internships at management consulting firms.

Love is part of a whole wave of young people who, in the face of harsh economic times, have decided they're not jobless, they're "funemployed." They know they can't get the work they're trained and suited for, and they could spend their time bemoaning over the masses of rejection letters—but why? They're confident that eventually things will get better, and they know it's not their fault.

There's a proliferation of websites and magazines dedicated to people in Love's situation, such as *Funemployment.com*—because not everyone is happily enough to work at a job they can't stand—and *Stuff Unemployed People Like*, a take-off on the oldish *Stuff White People Like* zine.

The jokes aside, times are indeed rough for the recently graduated class. A labour force survey by Statistics Canada showed that by May alone, the unemployment rate for youth climbed to 34.9 per cent—the highest rate



YOUNG PEOPLE are the hardest hit by the recession, but also, oddly, the most optimistic.

since 1999. Among 16-to-olds aged 20 to 24, participation in the labour force fell "substantially" from 38.6%, dropping from 75.1 to 64.5 per cent.

A recent study by New Research Centre, a Washington think tank, reports that "Generation Next," also known as "Generation Y" (born 1977 or later), is being squeezed harder than any other age group by the recession. A third of people aged 16 to 29 have cut down or canceled their college plans altogether. To judge by the emphasis on social networking and Twitter, that can mean small sacrifices. Four in 10 say they have cut down on alcohol and cigarettes due to the recession. And one in five young adults have moved with a friend or relative since the downturn.

Spencer Burns, like Love, is 22 and "Not Love," he's had hard times. He was working in an application company for CIBC Solutions in Burlington, Ont. He'd work from eight to five (but often later), then he'd get the girls for an hour and a half. Afterwards he'd run around and go to the gym, and then he'd be back in the office before going to bed. His boss told him he'd be laid off and he'd be laid off. "I was an employee of mine," he says.

But once the economy crumbled, Burns' ideal workplace environment disappeared. On Monday, May 1, Burns was let go. Over the next few weeks he devoted himself to finding another job, calling friends in the business, previous managers and even presidents of companies he hoped to work for. Finally,

after a couple weeks of beating himself up, he decided to make the best of his time off. "I'm young, I've got experience, and I'm not worried about getting a job eventually," he says. "I'll start work for a couple of months. It's not the end of the world."

Equipped with a university package and vacation pay, Burns plans on taking a week-long trip to Honolulu in July, and, in the meantime, he'll play his favourite pastime, golf. "If I had a facility I would be out there working," he explains, "but I'm career-oriented and I'm not going to take a step back." He will be patient and keep his ear to the ground for an opportunity, trusting he'll get another job in a month or two.

Killian Higgins, a 24-year-old graduate of UBC, has a similar outlook. "I have savings, so I don't really have a huge pressure to go out and get a job," he says. "I just want to take a break for a while."

Higgins took six years to complete his B.A., the last two of which were spent part time while he worked as a UBC's student newspaper, the *Vancouver "Right Now"*. He's taken an interest in wood-working. "I haven't really enjoyed it in high school and I haven't had time since university."

In fact, Gen Y's financial reality option is to about the recession—once they enter the generation, with 76 per cent in the Pew study believing their personal situation will improve by next year. And who can blame them? "If you grow up in the last 20 to 30 years, you're growing up in one of the biggest booms in modern economic history," explains Chantelle Douglas, a professor of economics at the University of British Columbia. "So that's your total frame of reference: you're going to find yourself optimistic."

"In general, unemployment is incredibly frustrating for laypersons," says Elizabeth Dunn, an assistant professor at the department of psychology at the University of British Columbia, who has devoted her career to studying happiness. "However," she says, "it's not for the reason we might think." In a joint study with Harvard University, Dunn's research concluded that people overestimated the relationship between income and happiness.

The worst thing about unemployment isn't financial, says Dunn, either. It's that unemployment can be socially isolating. "It's bad for you if other people think you are a loser," she says. "By labelling yourself as unemployed, it says, look, I'm not just an unemployed loser—I've found a way to be part of this cool, new group."

But while many young people don't seem to be worried, they do seem to have a healthy wariness about. David Livingstone, a professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, says that today's newscasters don't realize just how bad things are. "These people are unconsciously compartmentalizing and all sorts of mislead work to make ends meet," he says. And the behaviour is either that being a temporary help, unemployment is part of a larger trend in Canada, so none of these

young workers any more, and they're not. Mary Givens, a 30-year-old graduate of St. Thomas University with a major in sociology and a minor in philosophy, wrote about her experience between jobs on her blog, *The Mary Report*. She first heard the same from a friend. "Her comment had expired, so she was unemployed and collecting EI," she explained. "She took advantage of the time to work on her art."

Givens was one of the lucky ones—she now works as a software engineer for the province of New Brunswick. But her period of unemployment may have had an effect on her outlook on work. "I don't think people incorporate their day jobs into their identity the way they used to," says Givens. "I'm a software developer during the day," she explains, "but I really try not to think about my job too much." Instead, she focuses on her passions: playing live band and writing fiction.

To anyone who has lived through a depression before, the attitude of the unemployed may be baffling. "It was tough for me to work through the '90s and meet the recession midway through the '00s," says Cynthia Gredes, 44, a high school teacher at A. J. Jackson Secondary School in Owen Sound. "I worked minimum wage when I was 28 just to get a bag of groceries on the table." Gredes has a B.A. in history, an M.A. in art studies, and a B.A. in education, the teacher's technological degree to boot.

Gredes is skeptical of young people who are elevating slacking as a viable career path. "These kids that say 'I'm just going to have a fun time,'" she pauses, "I would suspect it's a little arrogant." But that's partly because Gredes knows funemployment affects parents. "I know many colleagues around my age whose kids are graduating," she says. "They're selling their houses and downsizing. And that's hard not to be able to move back home."

And that's the kicker for the funemployed: at the end of the day someone has to foot the bill. Gen Y may enjoy coasting through the recession, but if their parents have anything to do with it, that payoff might be over soon. ■



Parents may feel differently. Some have sold their homes so the kids can't move back in.



ARIZONA: HIGHEST CARD VOTE THIS YEAR
Winning often requires some measure of luck. This was the case in an Arizona town council election last month, where five candidates drew cards to break a tie. The incumbent, who drew a six of hearts, was unseated by a king of the same suit. A 1935 state law stipulates that election ties—except for the governorship and other top spots—must be broken by lot. Past contests have been determined with dice and pawns.



🍁 CANADA VERSUS THE WORLD 🍁

THE BEST PLACE ON EARTH

We're wealthier than the Americans, live longer than the Swedes and eat better than the French. We even have more lovers than the Italians—and of course we're more caring. Happy Canada Day!

BY JONATHAN GATWOOD • Let's not sugarcoat it—it's been a bad, bad year. Plagued markets have siphoned an estimated \$300 billion out of the pensions and retirement savings of Canadians. A huge wave of job losses—600,000 and counting—has pushed the unemployment rate to an 11-year high. Aids in the billions spent on corporate bailouts, and the \$100 billion-plus in projected federal and provincial deficits predicted for the coming years, and the economic gloom our seers are warning.

But Canada might want to stop and take a deep breath before going off to the local chapter of the Blacklock Society. As we gaze at the cottage, beach or in the backyard to celebrate our nation's 142nd birthday, there is much to be thankful for. Things beyond the usual July 1 peacocks in our store windows, abundant natural resources, diversity, and stable politics.

For our Canada Day special issue, Maclean's sourced international opinion surveys, census statistics, think tank reports, policy papers and consumer databases to uncover the truth about this country's place in the global order. The results may surprise you: we're wealthier than the Americans, we live

longer than the Swedes, we're more educated than the Germans, we have more lovers than the Italians, we eat better than the French and we have more TVs than the Japanese.

In so many areas—the economy, health, education, public safety, and living standards—the numbers, it seems, back up what we've always quietly believed deep in our patriotic hearts: Sorry to brag, but it looks like Canada is the best place on earth.

Measuring prosperity can be a tricky business. By the International Monetary Fund's reckoning, the oil-rich emirate of Qatar is actually the world's richest nation, with a per capita gross domestic product of US\$84,120. The World Bank, using a different formula, puts Luxembourg at the top of the heap, with a per capita gross national income of US\$66,360. And neither number tells you much about how all that wealth is divided.

Since 1990, the United Nations has followed a different tack, publishing an annual human development index that crunches data about life expectancy, purchasing power, literacy and education levels to rank countries by their citizens' broader "well-being."

In the lower list, released last December, Canada placed third, ahead of Australia, Iceland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, Iceland and, well, the rest of the world. The United States was 15th. Only Norway and Iceland scored higher, although it's a safe assumption that the collapse of Iceland's banking system has since ended the island nation's reign (despite what you might think, the UN gives no extra points for Björk).

Even by the narrower measurements of wealth alone, Canada is looking surprisingly robust these days. If you go by household net worth, the typical Canadian family is actually doing better than the typical family in America. After adjusting for currency and purchasing power, the median Canadian household has a net worth of US\$133,263, versus US\$94,106 in the States. Americans also carry almost twice the per capita personal debt—US\$9,620 versus US\$5,345.

And we spend just 79 per cent of our annual household budgets on shelter, a category that accounts for 34 per cent of that. If you go by the bank deposits, stocks, bonds, mutual funds and other financial assets the country added by the number of households—Canada did just as well as the U.S. on the global scale. According to Swiss Analytics, as of last March, Canada ranked No. 2 among the top industrialized countries in the world, with a financial net worth per household of US\$194,180, trailing only the U.S., which clocks in at US\$195,700. We're substantially ahead of Britain, France and Germany. And the good news is all the current bad news is that the global economic downturn is narrowing the gap between us and our southern neighbors. Just late 2007, their financial net worth has dropped by a staggering 34 per cent, while ours has dropped by 27 per cent.

Canadians also boast higher median household incomes than the Austrians and the Brits, and a higher level of income inequality than the Americans, Japanese, Swedes, Danes, French and Germans. And we live in a relatively comfortable—77 per cent of our homes have fire or smoke alarms, compared to 76 per cent in the U.S., 71 per cent in Britain, and 70 per cent in Australia. (Not that we're bragging on that stuff, when National Geographic asked whether eating a big house was an important goal in a global 2009 survey, just seven per cent of Canadian consumers agreed, compared to 16 per cent of Germans, and 22 per cent of the French.)

The Gross Revenue Index has undoubtedly made us poorer as a nation, but with the index now suggesting we may have finally made out better, Canada does seem better positioned than most for a recovery. As our politicians never tire of pointing out, our financial sec-

tor has come through the last decade, crisis and recovery, unscathed, and prosperity continues, while down, and up, in free-fall like they are somewhere else. The price of oil, which has been priced low, dropped by 32 per cent from their 2005 peak, or 30 per cent, where prices have dropped by 30 per cent from their 2007 high. In fact, a recent Goldman Sachs report predicts that Canada, along with Australia and Britain, will be among the first advanced economies to emerge from the recession, returning to trend rates of growth by early 2011, and rising again back up to capacity by sometime between 2011 and 2013. The U.S., on the other hand, isn't expected to get out from a backslap until 2012, and may not get back to capacity until 2017. "I think it's still here that this inequality comes," says Benjamin Loh, senior economist at CIBC World Markets.

"But we ought to start looking better about ourselves. This crisis has really exposed the vulnerabilities of the U.S. economy."

I don't take Joseph Boyden long to pin point what he means most about Canada—not being scored. The answer of two years' Office Paper by his novel *Black Snake* speaks of the year in Louisiana, where he and his wife are winter residents at the University of New Orleans. "When I go out at night—mean just to throw out the garbage—I've always seen it. I stop to look around. Living there almost breaks a person's mind. And not without reason. New Orleans is the most violent city in the U.S., with a murder rate more than 10 times the national average. Some years ago, the author and his wife were witnessed once."

Canada has no far share of guns—but for every 100 people, the 11th-highest level of civilian gun ownership in the world. That's hardly even weapons than Austria, Iceland and Germany, and lower than Sweden, Norway and France. The handgun laws are that, for some reason, we aren't allowed to point them at other people. Canada's murder rate in the middle of the pack, and has fallen by more than 40 per cent since 1975. Firearms are used as one out of three Canadian homicides. By contrast, guns are used in about two-thirds of killings in the U.S., where both the murder rate and the level of



Canada's food and social cohesion rate is the highest in the world.

THE FRENCH THINK THEY KNOW EVERYTHING ABOUT FOOD, BUT WHEN IT COMES TO ETHNIC FOOD, OR FUSION, IT'S BETTER IN VANCOUVER

gun ownership (about 90 firearms per every 100 people) are their rates higher.

Corruption, underestimation of the world's standing, the immensity of a certain Canadian business industry. As he and his wife, Canadians are recognized for their honesty and resilience. The 2008 *Black Snake* is prepared by the global diversity organization Transparency International, notes Canada as No. 1, tied with Belgium—meaning our firms are the least likely in the world to engage in payoffs. Only four per cent of Canadian business people have ever bribed high-ranking politicians or political parties, according to the survey, well below the international average of 11 per cent.

It's not that we are incapable of grunting, pining, but even the recipients seem to recognize how that character is. Last fall, *Black Snake*, CTV's globe-trotting correspondent, recalls a shakeout when he was in Baghdad in 2005, covering the Iraq elections. The network was pre-occupied with all the necessary permits and permissions. And he'd been left the Green Zone when it was pulled over by a policeman. He placed a gun at LaFlamme's feet and demanded that he leave the mission area was complete, he followed the car to a local polling station where he spent the next three hours begging for assistance to access a Canadian man. "He kept saying, 'I helped you, now you help me,'" LaFlamme laughs. "I think there was even a marriage proposal."

The fact that so many people want to make Canada their home—sometimes even by a thousand miles—shouldn't be overlooked. Our rate of immigration is among the highest in the world. We opened our doors to 341,241 people in 2008, according to government figures, and we gave more new citizens ships per capita than any other nation. And it's not just Canada's wealth that attracts them. Our level of education sets the global standard—a full 49 per cent of the population has post-secondary studies, versus 39 per cent in the U.S., and 14 per cent in Britain. When it comes to finding a place to live, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) finds that our 15-year-old place fourth in the world. Canada is among the planet's most diverse and tolerant societies. In 2005, we became the fourth country to legislate gay marriage, ahead of traditional bastions of social liberty like Sweden and Norway.

There's another area where Canadians have the advantage over the Scandinavians: good health. People show all Purpose Action research suggests the average 60-year-old Swede is no longer than a 50-year-old Canadian (the stat was never tested to be honest) but of government propaganda anyway). According to 2009 statistics from the WHO World Health, life expectancy at birth in Canada is now estimated to be 81.3 years, eighth in the world, which is actually slightly better than the Swedes (80.9) and France (79.8). And when it comes to quality of life—the number of years lived free from disease—Canada tied with France, Norway and Singapore for fourth place at 73 years, according to the latest World Health Organization figures. Japan topped the list at 76 years. Americans are way down at 70 years.

Part of that may be due to the way we treat ourselves. In 2007, *Health Magazine* declared Canada the second friendliest, and second-

most relaxed country in the world (behind the Netherlands and Spain, respectively). We were ranked as better than the Americans, and even had back then the U.S. And despite having the third-highest number of McDonald's franchises in the world, we are actually careful about what we put in our bodies. Our rate of daily fruit and vegetable consumption is the third highest in the world, behind only the Chinese and the Australians. We drink more fruit juice—52 litres a year—than the citizens of any other country (the Americans rank second at a paltry 43.5 litres). We have fewer daily smokers than every country in the OECD but three. And shockingly, we eat processed food less frequently than the French. Kim Brund, a lawyer for a Canadian bank who has lived and worked in Paris, remembers being surrounded by the number of French people who now cherish France's traditional standards in favour of fast, American-style American. And despite a deeply ingrained national attitude that they know everything, they know about food. (In a recent Paris dish, they told Brund that the recipe "didn't exist," the French actually aren't much for variety. "They do what they already yell," she says. "But when it comes to ethnic food—or fusion—it's a lot better in Vancouver, Kansas or Montreal.")

Canadians are no gluttons when it comes to the more sensual pleasures of life. We claim to spend an average of 37 minutes from breakfast to the bedroom, longer than the Spanish, French and Americans. Canadian men and women both have the highest rates of orgasm per sexual partner than the supposed leaders, the Germans and Italians. (Strangely, it's the Austrians who seem to be the most innocent. Could this be because of the Catholicism?) All of which may, or may not, be somehow related to the fact that, according to the global 2009 National Geographic survey, higher percentage of us, more or less 70%, than even the people that most admire them, the Japanese

don't know that more of this makes Canada anywhere near perfect. We may as well be environmentally friendly, but we aren't really as green as we are. We aren't really as green as we are. The United Nations reports that our greenhouse gas emissions are disbling, faster than any other member of the G8. Our infant mortality rate is lower than that of the U.S., but not nearly as low as in the Nordic nations and Japan. Poverty and addiction remain significant problems in our Aboriginal communities. And our health care system continues to struggle with costs, wait times, and in some cases, outcomes.

But among one of the years we've just lived through, it's put all the negatives under at least one day. We are a uniquely privileged nation—wealthy, healthy, and happy than practically any other place in the world. Those who have reason to leave often come to realize that Canada is a place that is worth staying in.

RICHER THAN WE THINK

It's common knowledge that Canada is a rich country. But our rankings like the UN's Human Development Index, but even when you look at just wealth, we score amazingly high.

Human Development Index

NORWAY	0.951
SWEDEN	0.949
CANADA	0.948
AUSTRALIA	0.942
IRELAND	0.932

Median family net worth (US\$)

CANADA	\$133,263
U.S.	\$94,106
U.K.	\$70,000
FRANCE	\$60,000
GERMANY	\$50,000

Financial net worth per household (US\$)

CANADA	\$194,180
U.S.	\$195,700
FRANCE	\$150,000
GERMANY	\$140,000

Percentage of homes with fire or smoke alarms

CANADA	77%
U.S.	76%
FRANCE	71%
GERMANY	70%

Source: Human Development Index (2008)

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Source: Human Development Index (2008)

OUTFLAUNDED them, too, even as the 1990s, then the trend sharply reversed.



WHO NEEDS A BREAK?

Canadians do. We're the fourth-hardest workers in the world.

BY HANLEY MACDONALD • If you're not proud enough of your country already, here's another reason to stand tall: we Canadians work harder than almost every other country in the world. Thanks to folk like me and colleagues spread for the first time, we check more mail from the beach and stretch hole days on the run. We're so dedicated, Forbes magazine recently ranked us as the fourth hardest working country in the developed world. When you take into account both hours worked and employment rates, we handily beat out the U.S., Germany, Sweden, Japan and most of the rest of Europe. The only countries that our work is as laudable (which ranked at No. 1), New Zealand and Sweden (which tied for second), and Denmark (which ranked third). In fact, some say, it's starting to look like Canadians may be working too hard.

Given our proclivity for work, it won't be much of a shocker to discover that Canadians get less vacation time than almost any other country. We score just 19 days of paid vacation a year, on average, while our French cousins receive a staggering 7.6 weeks of paid leave per year. Spaniards get 10 days, Italians get 31, those famously industrious Germans get 33, and the Brits—who helped birth the Protestant work ethic—earn 26, according to a recent global survey by travel website Expedia.

Still, while Canada and the U.S. receive some of the developed world's shortest paid holidays (the average American gets just 13 days), North Americans look like legends compared with the Japanese. They receive just 15 days holiday, and 51 per cent of them choose not to take all of their time (compared to 24 per cent in Canada). Last year, the average westerner took eight days vacation.

Sadly, it's a trend worth watching. As the recession deepens, Canadian workers will look increasingly Japanese, leaving a growing pot of unused vacation days on the table, workplace behaviour experts suggest.

For instance, the scarcity of jobs and resources heightens competitiveness within the workplace, leading to a "dog-eat-dog" mentality, says a senior executive at a major Canadian bank. "It's not just about the pack-up, by sacrificing vacation time—you'll seem a lot more important," explains Karl Ageron, an expert in organizational behaviour at the Sauder School of Business at the University of British Columbia. And the fear of being perceived as underperforming—"which can be quite scary during a recession"—may deter others from taking a vacation, he adds. (Further, management may renege on its expenditure while you were gone.) Ideas

while, if computers are reducing staff, "those left behind will have to pick up the slack," says Ageron. "The may require firms to limit new hires and expand their job responsibilities—which can take time. As a result, they will forgo vacation to do so."

While downtime may be sharply reduced in the coming months, increases in Canada are usually part of a larger 10-year trend, says sociologist Gilles Prévost, professor emeritus in the department of leisure, culture and tourism at Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the time Canadians spent working steadily decreased, and leisure hours rose accordingly, Prévost explains. But in the late 1990s, that trend sharply reversed, "unbelievably" two decades of gains. So far, the 21st century has been "catastrophic" to both leisure and work, he says. In the eight-year period from 1998 to 2005, leisure time decreased by two hours and the average workweek increased by 1.7 hours.

Currently Canadians, like Austrians, log a 33-hour workweek on average (when you include both full time and part-time work and, topping the U.S. and France, who work a weekly 32.6 and 32.1 hours respectively, according to data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD]). The French, meanwhile, work an average of 30 hours per week, Norwegians,

28, and the Dutch, 27. When Canada's Albertans logged the longest hours—three hours more than in B.C.—and four hours more than in Quebec, according to Statistics Canada.

Various factors are to blame for our growing work weeks, says University of Waterloo sociologist Sue Stone, including our new "electronic leash"—consisting of cellphones, BlackBerries, email and Wi-Fi—that allows us to work anytime, anywhere, and an increasingly competitive work culture, "which values very high levels of work commitment, dedication and willingness to work long hours."

But that explanation is incomplete, says Jody Heymann, director of McGill's Institute for Health and Social Policy. After all, the same electronic gadgets and go anywhere exist in Europe, where leisure hasn't been sacrificed, she says. The bulk of the world's 10 most competitive economies—is including Switzerland, Denmark,

LESS LEISURE, MORE WORK

Canadians are some of the hardest workers in the world—and we get less vacation time than pretty much all of Europe.

World's hardest-working countries

1. Iceland
2. New Zealand and Switzerland (tie)
3. Denmark
4. Canada
5. Sweden

No. of vacation days a year

- U.S. 20
- Canada 19
- Spain 31
- Britain 33
- France 35

Source: World Economic Forum's Global Competitiveness Index 2008-2009. Figures are for 2008. For more information, visit www.weforum.org.

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WELCOME TO CANADA

Sweden, Finland, Germany and the Netherlands—guarantee roughly more vacation time than Canada, the notes.

Experts say the big reason for our downslung leisure time is that in North America, we're collectively disabled economically because it's simply not seen as productive. Which is all well and good, but Toronto physician Mel Bernin says the low value we place on leisure is likely causing us mental and physical harm. Given two major U.S. longitudinal studies, Bernin says men who take regular holidays are 35 per cent less likely to die from a heart attack than those who do not, while women show half the risk. "Canadians also improve workplace efficiency, burnout decreases significantly, and people are less likely to take sick time after returning from a vacation," he adds, noting that he's seen rates, persistent headaches and pains disappear in patients returning from holiday.

At least we try to make the most of our limited vacation time, by throwing it up and mixing work and pleasure, according to University of Guelph tourism professor Stefan Ellis (who wrote in *Maclean's* an ethical note scolded 11 p.m., an hour before launching his working vacation in Hawaii). "Curiously, Canadians take five "leisure trips" per year, averaging two nights each, with 50 per cent of the respondents, the says.

The recreation gap sharpens that trend too, keeping Canadians on shorter, more trips closer to home, says Waterloo tourism professor Stephen Smith. This year, Canadian tour operators reported a 15 per cent drop in travel bookings and airlines are predicting combined global losses topping 50 billion, thanks largely to the growing numbers who opt to spend their leisure time locally.

This summer, for instance, Bob Lai, an exhaustively well-travelled 36-year-old Vancouver engineer, embarked on a weekend "vacation" with a group of friends: eight twenty-something working professionals and one medical student. The goal? "To enjoy a vacation as a group together, and spend as little money as possible," Lai explains. They hit Vancouver hot spots that, as locals, they generally ignore. A brewery tour at Greenview Island, for example, provided a picnic at a nearby park with meats and cheeses bought from its layman food market. They also biked the seawall surrounding Stanley Park and stopped for a swim at Third Beach, a local treasure overlooking Burnaby Inlet, near South Lake. "We were shocked at how nice the beach was," says Lai, as he and his friends never usually venture past the west side beaches surrounding Kitsilano.

As for the rest, right here at home. Now imagine what they could do if they had 38 days leave—like they do in Paris. ■

RELIGION AT WORK

Our tolerance likely has nothing to do with multiculturalism

BY MICHAEL PETROU For those prone to worrying about how well people from different faiths get along in Canada, there has been plenty of evidence of faith to feed their fears. Canada's various human rights commission does have been doing faith business investigating perceived slights of one type or the other. Quebec's "reasonable accommodation" hearings have heard from people who were upset by the sight of women wearing headscarves in Montreal, or by too much kosher food at their suppers. And a recent poll

policy of multiculturalism has been seen mental in creating what Vincent Bevil, a sociology professor at the University of Toronto, describes as "an ideology of accommodation." It has conditioned Canadians—who are already predisposed to accept newcomers because of our long history of immigration—the belief that different groups belong here and that no interaction between those groups is a good thing.

On the other side of the debate are those who believe that what matters most is how the state treats immigrants, but who they are and what they do when they arrive. Randall Hansen, Canada research chair of immigration and governance at the University of Toronto, is in this camp.

LESS DIVIDED THAN EUROPE

Rather than existing in distinct silos, as they do in Europe, members of different religions tend to mix in Canada and the U.S., resulting in less isolation and more tolerance and integration.



Source: "The Digital Divide" from 2009, a 5,000-person study of multiculturalism and tolerance in Canada. 50 per cent of respondents.

by *Maclean's* found that many Canadians say they are divided by religion.

But whatever religious fault lines exist in Canada, we're much less divided than Europe, and only slightly more so than the United States. Recent polling by Gallup tried to determine the reasons of what they call "coercive cohesion" around the world, by asking respondents how they treat and are treated by members of other faiths—whether they would object to someone from a different faith moving next door, for example. Respondents were then classified as either "isolated," "tolerant," or "integrated." Among countries in western Europe and North America, only the U.S. had more respondents who rated as "integrated" (and fewer who rated as "isolated") than Canada.

Analysts differ as to why this is the case. Some contend that the main important factor in determining how people from different faiths get along is how immigrants and their offspring—who are often religiously conservative—do in their adopted countries.

By this line of reasoning, Canada's official

"The general public about immigrants in North America is that they come here to work," he says. "They come to a continent where welfare provision is very minimal, where you're expected to rely on your own work, and where the earning of money and the creation of wealth is tolerated and indeed encouraged. My view is that immigrants will respond to the incentive structures that you give them, and so the immigrants that are ambitious and want to succeed come here."

Hansen says immigrants in North America tend to be integrated into the job market, while immigrants in Europe are more isolated. "It's a slight oversimplification, but not much of one."

If members of religious minorities are employed, they move up the social ladder and are less likely to be cut off from people of different faiths. "It's impossible to have dignity without a job," he says. "This question is not about all this multicultural business. It's not about funding Chinese dragons festivals. What's happening is people from different faiths work when immigrants work." ■

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SPECIAL REPORT

agely," says Dr. Pierre-Alexandre Michaud, professor of adolescent health at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland. Sex is seen as important (even, he adds, and isn't a politically charged issue as it is in the States). "It's very interesting for us to see a U.S. president most likely if they're for or against gay marriage and abortion," he notes. "On a Swiss level and surrounding constraints, these discussions do not take place."

One might expect that a more liberal approach to sex would contribute to higher incidences of teen pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). But the opposite is generally true. Canada performs better than the States on such indicators—our chlamydia rate in 2007 was 217 per 100,000 people, for example, much lower than the 370 per 100,000 in the U.S.—but some western European countries perform better still. Switzerland, for one, had an infection rate of 69 per 100,000 in 2007. It also has one of the lowest teen pregnancy and abortion rates in the world, Michaud says.

Indeed, the general rule seems to be that countries that lean toward sex positivity tend to see, which is a bellwether of sorts, go hand in hand with higher teen pregnancy and STD rates, says Alex McKay, research coordinator at the Sex Information and Education Council of Canada. Being able to discuss sex frankly among people "led to much better understanding of the services and information they need. As a result, they tend to have fewer sexual problems than we do," McKay says. In North America, though, "there's still some extent of a taboo surrounding sex."

A recent survey of Toronto teens seems to back that up. It found that many barriers to accessing sexual health information and services in Canada still exist. Interestingly, while youth said they'd learned about STDs, gonorrhea and birth control in school, the topics they wanted to learn about included healthy relationships and sexual pleasure, which are often ignored. Even today, "it's the exceptional teacher who feels comfortable talking about sex," says Sarah Piller, a York University professor who worked on the study.

In the end, having the language to talk about it in most programs, says Jan Lecker, a sex educator who works with teens. "The more you can talk about sex, the more you learn about yourself and how to make it enjoyable," she says. She acknowledges that the cultural values that can quiet such talk vary widely around the globe. But despite those differences, the topics that people want to discuss are universal. "No matter where I go, the number one question I get from men is about sex," Lecker says. "I get emails from all around the world. I should cover how many different countries it's been." ■



SOME EUROPEAN countries are looking to Canada for tips on healthy living.

WHY WE LIVE LONGER

No Mediterranean diet for us. We outlast the Europeans as it is.

BY GARY GALLI • Despite the global appeal of the more balanced, less frantic lifestyle in Europe—the Mediterranean diet, the work-to-live ethos, the café culture, women—when it comes to life expectancy, Canada is the envy of nearly every country. From the day we're born, the average Canadian can anticipate living past the ripe old age of 81.25 years, according to the CIA's World Factbook 2009 estimates. That puts us at number eight in the world, higher than most rich, industrialized nations, including France, Sweden, Italy, Spain, Greece, Germany, Japan, Denmark, and the U.S.

But here's where it comes in: "Healthy life expectancy," which refers to the number of disability-free years a person enjoys. Canada ranks fourth highest at 71 years behind countries such as Japan, Italy and Switzerland, and well ahead of places such as France, Norway and the Netherlands, and better than Britain and Greece, among many others. "The average Canadian has a fairly long life," says Frank Rossini, a University of Alberta sociologist and editor

of the journal *Canadian Studies in Population*. "Just out of that fairly long life, most years are spent in good health. That's exactly what a country should strive for."

If you're surprised to learn we live so long, it's no wonder, given the grim reports citing rising obesity rates, lengthy medical wait times, physician and nurse shortages, and limited access to health care in remote locations. While these challenges are real and serious, longevity experts eventually agree that Canada deserves more accolades. "We don't give ourselves a fair shake," says Margaret Penning, a sociologist at the University

of Victoria. "We're always questioning the quality of our health care. But it's clear that we do so much better than our neighbors in terms of health and life expectancy." So how did Canada achieve such high longevity compared to the rest of the world? One of the most interesting explanations suggested has to do with our connection to the country we have helped build: our life expectancy. The "healthy immigrant effect" theorizes that only the most mentally and physically fit individuals can leave their homeland, enduring the challenges of a major move in the hopes of long-term gains. Thus the immigration process, which includes rigorous health

THE 'HEALTHY IMMIGRANT EFFECT' SUGGESTS WE LIVE SO LONG BECAUSE ONLY THE FITTEST PEOPLE GET IN

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THE OTHER MAN BEHIND BRÜNO



Sacha Baron Cohen may be the star but the person pushing the comedy envelope is often director Larry Charles BY JAIME J. WEINMAN

film

Who is the man behind *Brüno*, and, more broadly, Sacha Baron Cohen is the guy starring in the semi-improvised movie about Brüno, the gay Austrian

fashion expert he created on *the Al G Show*; he's the one who will participate in such already famous scenes as the one in which he makes a baby wear a T-shirt that says "Gayby." But the man directing *Brüno*, which comes out (on pay per view) on July 10, is Larry Charles, who directed Cohen in *Borat* as well. He also wrote some of the best episodes of *Seinfeld* and helped make *Carl Hays* *Entourage* and *Entourage* into hits. The one thing he hasn't done yet is create a successful project of his own: every high-profile film and TV show he does is somebody else's. Charles describes himself to *Men* as "a facilitator of comedy," using the *Brüno* term for someone who wants to help other brains achieve self-fulfillment. "I'm putting off my own movies in help others reach their dreams." In this case, that was achieved by letting Sacha Baron Cohen do whatever damps in front of his own cameras.

Not that Charles, a diminutive comedy writer with an equally distinctive appearance (a cross between a hippie and Bob Odenkirk's parody of Charles Manson on the old *late Show*), lacks his own ambitions as a filmmaker. He didn't work with Cohen on *the Al G Show* and took over *Borat* only after the star fired the original director, Todd Holland, but Charles isn't just a director for hire on Cohen's comedy franchise. Instead, he sees these movies as a chance to "push the boundaries of where a studio comedy could go." Even after *Brüno* was slightly rated to avoid an NC-17 rating, Charles proudly says

that "it's the dirtiest comedy ever made. That's kind of my cup." He seems startled at the almost casual question of how effective jokes can be before a normie people off, whether it's the rude swearing scene in *Borat* or the already-famous Holocaust and Hitler jokes in *Borat*. People should be "try to create agreed-upon boundaries," he says. "The audience is a good barometer of this stuff."

This kind of willingness to push the audience—even to the point of pain—has always been a trademark of Charles's comedy, ever since he's working under stronger limitations than a mere "it" rating. On *Seinfeld*, where he was the first staff writer hired (he worked with writer Larry David) on the sketch show *Stand-Up*, and was known to the staff as "the other Larry," he wrote the darkest episodes of the series, in which characters are arrested for nose murder, chained to a bed and rebbed, or mistaken for the leaders of a neo-Nazi group. Charles (just) co-edited the show *Mad About You*. He turned it from a cute, harmless white comedy into an incisive look at the realities of marriage—complete with fights, divorce threats, and unexpected pregnancies. *Horrible* managed to turn *Dilbert* into an animated show that was more depressing and depressing than the original comic strip. Never even fortable with explicit comedy, he thinks even

Seinfeld now seems a little too mild and for media-industry compared to some of the things he's done since. "Seinfeld was, in a sense, a transitional piece," he explains. "It was very much tied to the classic sitcom tradition, and at the same time it deconstructed the rules of that format, leading to shows like *Carly*." What ever he's doing, he wants to do more.

That means that when Charles takes over a project, he is *Mad About You* or *Borat*, at often winds up becoming darker and more ambitious in scope than the original version. When *Brüno* appeared on *the Al G Show*, he was merely used to make fun of the superficiality of the fashion world. Charles says that *Brüno* is still a part of the new movie, but that it's also a "very deeply layered" film that "shows and lampoons and satirizes many aspects of our society: fashion, homophobia, celebrity, fame." He's become increasingly interested in the idea of using movie comedy to deal with big, serious issues. Charles's first feature film was *Master and Apprentice*, a comedy about two gay professors who had a relationship with Bob Dylan, and his only film in between was the gay Cohen project with *Religion*, his anti-religion comedy with Bill Maher, in which doctors and men went around the world trying to expose religious believers as superstitious.



CHARLES (left), with Cohen directed *Brüno* and *Borat*. On *Seinfeld*, he wrote the show's darkest episodes

films who have gotten the planet in a new Cohen's films are more commercial—Charles says that he layers in "subtle and broad humor, and very broad humor, to the result is that a large audience finds something funny in the movie." But the political and social issues are still there, they're just further because the star is someone funnier than Bill Maher.

One of the most unappealing scenes in fiction is the one in which the title character participates in a cage match in front of an enthusiastic crowd.

The audience enjoys the fight, but is disgusted when Berino makes out with his opponent, a less-violent foe who is appalled by sex. Charles has been dealing with our confused attitudes toward homosexuality as far back as 1983, when he wrote a *Scopfil* episode where Jerry and George deny being gay, but then sarcastically tell "rice that there's anything wrong with that," if that

'IT'S THE DIRTIEST COMEDY EVER MADE,' SAYS CHARLES. 'THAT'S A FEATHER IN MY CAP.'

With *Mad About You*, I knew what was missing, and I knew I could fix that. I approach things with the hope of being the piece of the puzzle that allows them to reach their full potential."

That may be one of the keys to understanding his contribution to the Catholic franchise. He didn't create the dioceses or the congregations, but he can help make them better. With *fratres*, his job is to take a character "who never missed a Mass or altar those dioceses" and give him some kind of inner life, the way Rome became kind of a sympathetic—or at least interesting—character on some of his

he has only one chance to get many of the scenes on film. In that world, being funny requires instant planning, but also leaves a lot up to chance once the cameras are rolled on. "When we're doing scenes at real locations with real people," he says, "anyone may step in at some and suddenly become the focus of the scene. And we have to, on the fly, be able to shift our plan right there at the moment and sort of seize that new direction."

The other thing Charles is trying to do is Brian and Brent is figure out how today's technology can serve the cause of comedy. Charles is an idiot with the ease and mobility of digital video, which he calls his "advanced tremendously even since Brent" and allows him to make these movies with speed and freedom. Even the BlackBerry, which we didn't usually think of as a cinematic device has become what he calls "one of the most crucial elements of the filmmaking process."

Because of the way their movies are shot, Cohen and Charles are sometimes physically "not anywhere near" each other for hours. The only way we communicate is through BlackBerry's. On *Seinfeld* or *Mad About You*, Charles figured out new approaches to sitcom scripts, now he's using movies as an experimental lab to see how unscripted comedy can be made more relevant and fun.

The experiment may be over; Cohen has run out of 40 G characters to adapt into movies, and Charles is confused again. Regardless of his recent success, he still isn't getting a lot of prospects greenlighted; he wrote a dark comedy about *Mozley Crui-*

which we've both been, has a second unspoken (often false) tag (or catch) in development: the fact that Charles remains adamant about not settling into a comfortable, middle-class life. Defined as a follow-up to these, he says he tried to make it "an almost completely different movie in many ways. It's more difficult, it's designed to take a little artistry. We mustn't abuse the genre. We tried as much as possible not to feel there's a reward." Charles doesn't want to be pigeonholed as the guy who directs and produces someone else's passion, reminding us that "there are many less successful things that were not like this" but that he creates his own hit, he'll get fulfillment by making sure that more famous people never repeat themselves.

THE ROBAL COLLECTION AND GRANTHERITE
DAVID ROBERTSON/ROBAL

stage



COLIN FERGIE is *Comes de Bengtson*: "The moment the play stops and the nose comes off, I'm thinking about legs in Herbyth."

Hitting it on the proverbial nose

Stratford's star delivers a crowd-stirring performance, just when it was needed most

BY BRIAN BETHUNE • Timke House after losing the stage to Cypriote Energy, and their hopes believe he will return to it in Michigan, Calin Rose—an ill-fated birthday. It is still doing his duty by the Stratford Shakespeare Festival. Rose is the star performer in a series that is in dire financial trouble—adverse policy sales were down 25 per cent in 2008—before an influx of government money in 2009. In 2009, the day after the \$1.5 million from Ontario and Queen's Park allowed targeted marketing drives, in Ontario and in the U.S. home to more than a third of most years' audiences. The newspaper worked, and the festival was able to maintain more than 20 performances a had just on hold. New sources was up to the performers, above all to Rose.

Far from looking tired, the 29-year-old actor is thrumming with as much energy as any newly defrosted Gazon northlander or blood-drenched Scottish highlander. With the move from one role to two—his evening's performance was opening night for *Gyones de Beyrout*—Besse is willing to admit the pace is "a little exhausting," no doubt he hasn't performed there or even four roles in past fortnights. "The movement, the play starts, and the music comes off. I'm thinking about lines in *Macbeth* and then there's the other party and people wanting to talk to me. I didn't get a glass of water until 1 a.m. Now that's a good sign, I'm excited."

Fever eventually got his glass of red wine and, presumably, some sleep. Now he's happy to talk about photography (it's a serious camera buff, with a shelf jammed in *American Photo magazine* and a stash of discontinued Polaroid film in a vegetable freezer at a friend's farm. And to talk too about the fo-

and, in a sense, the political importance of *Cyrano* holds for him. Bradford, whose first career was in film and where two of his three children will attend school, resides here in a Canadian actor more pragmatic than most. So opening night means not just a return to the audience, but French too, since he's where his father raised him for three years with other Polish-speakers. "I was there like a big bull's head, so when I said the lines about 'that has nothing to do with eagles,' I added 'That's nothing to do with ornithology—strange birds.' I was looking right at him."

And the pressure is his wife, Donna Freed, who was, he boasts, once a birthday present. "I was terrified last night," Froese says seriously. "There was so much toward so close to the picture that I saw it through Donna's eyes, as much for her, for her birthday." They have been married since 1994, the last time Calvo performed as Cyrano, in a highly praised production, after which he left Starline for a decade to make his mark in film and TV. (The belated Froese has appeared on *Queer* and *Ellen*, as Pierre Trudeau on an acclaimed *CBS* miniseries and as the U.S. president in *Interglacial* based on a season of '34, and now in *Thelma & Louise*, all roles that have made him a familiar face to millions.)

The distant, forest edge dryly, was much more influential this time around. A female

Barthes never more emphatically on the view of *Chanson*, Gyron's beloved, and on the hero's over-ambition to die. Then there's the story of a particular reader's "ecstasy" in reading the book. His is not a text, spread by printing more than one role and thus by printing in both cases, "a perfect being" in his opinion, nor so much cancelling each other out as cashing in different other's potential. From now on, I'll tell *Don Quixote* as a play. Much of the strategy is what, finally, kills Machete? "This story is of a hero, but he only comes to show you that you are men like me, another character, better for him, to see 'What comes to my world' I put." Gyron does not "have a definition, independent and free" to be the "best character being a book." None the less, *Don Quixote*, as an amazing, a fairly close view to read his 41 plus chapters, only notes the two characters have their common points: "such as good with itself, and know how to love the other of their blood." ("Why the know") put these ideas into *Don Quixote* for a reader to be taught. "And I put you with others' freedom of philosophy for Gyron—Santos, Descent, and I learned otherwise by myself."

Whitener's shtetl *Foer* has brought so far *Cynosa*—middle-aged divorcee, safely and amicably, or the disarmed spirit of *Macbeth*—it worked opening night wounds in both—its wit and violence. *Wassaphone* for the play not become a standing ovation when *Foer* comes back out, a treat for the festival crowd but as boring as a government report. ■

CHARLES HILL PHOTOGRAPHY and FILMWORKS, 10010 Delwood Drive, Houston, Texas 77055; 281-462-2200; www.charleshillphoto.com; or HDTV Photo Agency



with me²), these bigger themes help give structure and weight to the stories, which could otherwise be overextended versions of *Ali G* sketches.

But does that approach work? *Seinfeld* or *Scrubs* or the many episodes of *Charlie* that Charles has directed, it doesn't seem like as much success for any Larry Charles material without someone else's name on it. Though he's created original TV pilots and scripts, he's never been picked up. Instead he makes most of his money by subduing himself to the creator of the original property (he is a writer-producer for *Will & Grace*). He says that he has a talent for figuring out what can make a good idea better. "With *Scrubs*, I know what it needed to be great

And though someone else will get the credit for the first product, these projects at least give Charles an opportunity to test the waxy code technique he's become invested in. Charles, like David (who insisted on doing *Carl's Year* Zimmerman without literal script), became unattached with the script, pre-planned many of most Hollywood comedy film directors to be better "when you release the reins of the normal filmmaking process." In fact, Charles conceived "very spontaneous reference on camera" because

which we've been here his second unborn child that got caught in development he'll. But Charles remains adamant about not settling into a comfortable media thought train in a follow-up to these, he says he'd like to make it "an almost completely different move in many ways. It would definitely, it's designed quite differently. We want about the focus. We tried as much as possible not to feed them a message." Charles doesn't want to be pigeonholed as the guy who directs and produces someone else's portrait, reminding us that "there have been many less successful things that were not like this," but until he creates his own hit, he'll get fulfillment by making sure that more famous people never repeat themselves.

PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK: AIR GUITAR
Def Leppard, Whitesnake and Deep Purple were just three of the super-loud bands that rocked the crowd at the recent Download Festival in the U.K.—but one of the biggest festival events made no sound at all, as a whopping 440 fans gathered to break the world record for Most People Playing Air Guitar at One Time. (The previous record was held by 218 people.) Their song of choice? Metallica's *Acid of Soul*.

WACHSBERG, 1994



SOME APPS DO EXACTLY WHAT YOU WANT: THE 'SHOTGUN' APP, WHICH SHOTS DOWN OTHER APPS, STOPPED THESE MEN FROM DOWNLOADING IT

I can turn my phone into a shotgun

The most popular apps in iPhone's App Store are mindless, silly and increasingly tasteless

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Eddie Markey and James Anthony were students at Stanford University when, working out a down round earlier this year, they wrote an application for the Apple iPhone called Shotgun. It's a mindless little program that lets you jolt your iPhone down and up to register the tension and sound of a shotgun being pumped and fired. Silly as it might seem, it has been widely popular. Over three million people had already downloaded it from Apple's iPhone App Store over the past three months.

With Shotgun, the duo hit the Apple app jackpot. They made two versions of the app: one that's free and one with a few extra features that cost 99 cents. They're reluctant to say exactly how much they've made, but admit it's enough to support them and their new company, Indible Software, for some time. "We're both comfortable working for a year and if we don't make any more money we'll still be doing just fine," says Anthony, on the phone from Palo Alto, Calif., a hub for app developers where the pair are now looking for an acquisition. Since graduating last week they've been crushing on friends' coaches.

Their story underscores just how popular, and lucrative, the Apple app marketplace has become. There are now 18,000 apps on the App Store, which together account for one billion downloads. Very few will ever find an audience like Shotgun. In fact, when Markey and Anthony launched their game, four other people had the same idea: they just happened to get ahead of a popular video game site, and landed on the App Store's top 100 list. "We got lucky," says Anthony. Still, thousands of developers are churning out programs, hoping for their shot at iPhone fame and fortune. "The App Store was born last year when

Apple opened the door to third-party developers, letting them write any kind of program for the iPhone they could dream up. Some, like the app Shotgun, are brilliant. It uses the iPhone's microphone to listen to a song being played in a room and synchronizes later to fit you the music and lyrics. Some apps use the iPhone's built-in GPS to provide mapping and driving services, like Find My Car. Some less others do simple things, like organize shopping or do homework. Or provide the latest sports scores or news. (Yes, Markey's has one.) But most apps, like Shotgun, which was the iPhone's most popular app, are simply there to entertain—the silver bullet.

If anything, the App Store has emerged as a kind of repository of free fun. Markey and Anthony are the founder of the popular website Kappz.com, which reviews some of the more mindless apps, or empires, as they've become known. He says there's been a steady progression toward designing increasingly crappier apps. First come the fun apps, like the Mahler (it makes fart noises), then the burping and vomit apps. The latest find is "spicy apps," which simulate various stages of drunkenness. One standout "crappier" is Sexy Alphabet, says Markey. The creator turns it up here: "We had a professional voice model to speak all the letters of the alphabet [and] in a sexual and sophisticated way."

This shallow side of the App Store is not without its risks for Apple and its reputation. It sparked controversy earlier this year after Kappz.com highlighted Baby Shakes, an app with which users shook their iPhone to stop a crying baby. Apple apologized for approving the app and removed it. Still, the App Store, warm and all, has been a stroke of genius for Apple. Other smartphone companies, like Research In Motion, have tried to replicate the App Store, but none have come as close as watching its size. Analysts predict that Apple's dominant lead in apps will drive more and more iPhone sales. Meanwhile, for developers, the App Store is the place to be. And the silly apps are where the real money is. Markey estimates that their iPhone app made a profit of \$500,000. (Apple takes a 30 per cent cut of app sales.)

Markey and Anthony have invented many and many more thoughtful apps. Markey called the Game. But those haven't matched Shotgun's success. Last week, the pair released yet another mindless app, called Poop. (Jab your iPhone in front of you like a bowel and it makes pooping sounds.) He was quick and easy, and left them feeling a strange sense of self-loathing. But the chance of making money from it was irresistible, they say. Still, they're philosophical about their success. "We have strong feelings about being known as the Shotgun guys," says Anthony. "But we're happy. We've brought joy to the world in whatever kind of quick destructive form it is."



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT A HITLER WATERCOLOUR
An original 1911 ink watercolour by Adolf Hitler sold for \$100,000. The work was signed and dated 1912, when the future Nazi leader—then in his early 20s—was living in Austria. Measuring 5.5 by 11.5 inches, the painting depicts a vase filled with flowers. In his youth Hitler was an aspiring artist, but his dream was crushed when he was twice rejected by the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. He later blamed his rejection on a Jewish professor.

4 of 4

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film



SASHA GREY, who stars in Steven Soderbergh's latest film, is a fan of Jean-Luc Godard and co-starred using Anna Karenina as a porn alias

A new kink in cinema's porn habit

Graphic sex in mainstream movies isn't new. Hiring a porn star for her conversation is.

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • Sasha Grey's not the first porn actress to make the leap to mainstream movies. As early as 1973, David Cronenberg's *Mia & Mune* starred in a film as a zombie with a flesh-piercing phallus in her vagina (though it may be stretching it to call *Adult* mainstream). Traci Lords played her infamy in an underage sex-of-adult movie in a series of roles in *Hardcore* and *Run Run Run*. And Jenna Jameson has had an ongoing on-screen relationship with the adult and mainstream industries. But Grey may be the first hard-core porn actress out in a lead role by an Oscar-winning director.

In *The Girlfriend Experience*, a stylish low-budget film by Steven Soderbergh, she plays Chelsea, a high-priced Manhattan call girl that Soderbergh (*Erre*, *Goodbye*, *Goodbye*) doesn't explain. Grey's obvious assets: There's one explicit sex and not much nudity. Set during last fall's U.S. presidential election, the story concerns Chelsea's relationships with her affluent but needy clients as they fight over economic doom. Inevitably, they turn to her for a professional reason. Grey plays a version of herself, a sex worker trying to keep her dignity while selling fantasy.

What makes this premise upscale is the choice of lifestyle—we see her on a motor dinner date with a client, discussing the finer points of the documentary *Man on Fire*. And like Chelsea's customers, who pay \$1,000 an hour for a "girlfriend experience," Soderbergh has hired Grey for her conversation rather than her sex. And that's a new kink in the strange and tangled relationship between porn and serious cinema, which have been kissing cousins for a long time.

Before the Internet turned porn too a blockbuster industry, cinema's avant-garde had always flirted with erotic cinema. Respected serious films led the way, including *Napola* (*In the Heat of the Night*), *Bernardo Bertolucci* (*The Dreamers*), and *Ang Lee* (*Last Tango in Paris*), which all shot graphic sex with mainstream actors. But sometimes it's easier just to hire a professional. For a hard-core scene in *Boyz n the City* (1999), French feminist director Catherine Breillat cast porn star Illeana Scuderi—who, coincidentally, would be Grey's first partner when she made her adult film debut at 18.

New 21, Grey has 146 films on her belt, from *Mary Jane* to *Flawless* and *Shut Up*. A taste for rough sex, and her scenes rank with the most hard-core stuff out there, but she's serious about the adult movie. In her early career, she was a sex worker and a stripper, and she's now a professional actress. She's a fan of Jean-Luc Godard, and she's a fan of the French actress who became Godard's first wife, actress Jean Seberg. She's a fan of the French actress who became Godard's first wife, actress Jean Seberg. She's a fan of the French actress who became Godard's first wife, actress Jean Seberg.

Before the Internet turned porn too a

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Before the Internet turned porn too a

Grey has created her own company and plans to direct, produce and star in her own adult films. One reason to bring out her own film is the poster girl for a robotics porn education movement: *Black* (yourself for Porn Pride).

Girlfriend Experience is not Grey's first brush with the mainstream. At 18, she appeared on *The Tyra Banks Show*, mortifying the host with an explicit video of enjoying a gangbang with 10 men. "That year she was also the subject of a magazine profile, which is where Soderbergh encountered her. No doubt he was tickled by the fact that, as a film student, the California girl (then Maria Anna Harris) was an ardent fan of the New Wave, especially Soderbergh's idol, Jean-Luc Godard. For her part, she's a comedian, calling herself Anna Harris—after the French actress who became Godard's first wife—before running herself after Oscar Wilde's *Dorian Gray*. As Soderbergh says, "She's a new breed of something."

Grey, who's had the same boyfriend for three years, may identify with the call girl in *Girlfriend Experience*—whose love in boyfriend is a personal matter—but she says she could never do her job. "At the end of the day, you're both having sex for money," she explains, "but it's not something I would be comfortable doing, because it's not safe. I have my partners used two days before a scene." With protocols like that, there are some lines between art and porn that may never be crossed. ■



WE'RE STALKING... KATE MOSS

A romantic weekend took a turn for the worse when British supermodel Kate Moss threw her boyfriend Jamie Hince's birthday into the past, demolishing his laptop, which contained an spreadsheet saved by his band the Kills. According to British tabloid the *Daily Mirror*, the songs weren't backed up and are lost forever. Hince yelled at Moss, "You're acting like a bitch!" The couple made up after and Kate is hoping for a new computer.



ALTO: WECHEN might consider putting up posters of their ex with the line, "Lost Dog"—or for the very angry, there's always *Wanted*.

How to get revenge on a cheater

Eva Nagorski offers betrayed wives a wealth of creative ways to hit an ex where it hurts

which in turn get to their slaughterhouses." "These lesions of anatomy," explains La Ferriere owner Eugene Atlin.

Worse, the industry is proving anemic in its response to the growing public concern that has been the CIBC's product. Although investigation last year showed that horse slaughter practices in a Canadian company and a recent article from *Canadian Press* consulted about the subject raised serious questions as to the CIBC's effectiveness, the "Big Boys" who don't sell their dogs to slaughterhouses such as Wang's and Rich don't care. One American breeder was charged with animal cruelty. These issues are part of why the U.S. shatters its slaughter facilities, though in many cases the country contains a major exporter of the animals.

On the other hand, a growing movement supported by the American Association of Veterinary Medicine, its advice is to rather than leaving them living and unweaned. And some argue it's unkind not to eat their meat.

other means for it, like bait or pork. It's a plain belief," just that "another way. And that means others who might take a risk on something like these would like to know where it comes from. That's hard to know the source of the meat. That's because horses generally enter the food chain not from farms, like pigs or other livestock, but when they are no longer wanted—no longer so willing to win, so no longer useful to pull their weight. Chaff goes from most farm companies such as La Ferme Black River Game Farm in Milledale, New

Worse, the industry is growing. According to Paul Hawn, The CRC produced an ongoing investigation last year about home-based slaughter practices at a Canadian company, and a recent article in *Canadian Press* revealed that sick and abused animals from the U.S. being auctioned to so-called "kill buyers" who sell them to slaughterhouses such as Virchow's. Both cases in Quebec, one American business was charged with animal cruelty. These issues are part of why the U.S. shuttered its slaughter export facilities, though until now the country continues to export a large number of animals.

On the other hand, a growing movement supported by the American Association of Veterinary Medicine, is advocating for selling the animals to slaughter rather than leaving them living and unwanted. And some argue it's useful too to eat perfectly good pieces of protein, especially given environmental costs of raising livestock.

Van Gerssen is in favor of "reappraising" hams at cook, but he, like Koopman, wants more information about the source. "I don't have that one-to-one connection, like I do with my soy food supplier, Axia Champignons [Eggs] is from three farms and they educated me about what they do and how they do it. It took a while to do that with hams." He well might be wise here, and that answers the public too. ■

FOR A SKELETON 'WHIP'

...and a chocolate. Le Whiff is a new restaurant in Vancouver's David Thompson—chocolate is one of their main focus, the mouth and throat chocolate diet, giving about four pounds per person has big gains for his invention. He's taking food and has a single premiere Le Whiff at David Thompson.

makers for a funny story—if only in a cordless way. For the philandering sports figure who brings his new lady to the games you used to attend with him, take advantage of the Jumbotron picture that falls framed with a message steering him that the man sitting in row eight, seat 35 cheered on his wife with the woman next to him. 800.00? A wire collecting on my have his greater earnings delisted out to the neighbors as played into water so that all the labels slip off. Heron?

Among the past common aspects of coverage are cars. Describing them provides a double whammy: his status symbol is ghosted, and until he gets a fix, he'll be reminded of his frequent whereabouts, including to her house. That "car guys" may refer to their vehicle as "her" or "his" and spend more time and money tending it up than on their former lovers only

There are, of course, horrifying tales of revenge, ones involving a lopped-off penis or even death. Many voice mails can go public, there could be harassment charges or

MOST IMPROVED
Levi Johnston—Formerly 16, he's now 18, and a native of Alaska, he's come up with an ingenious election time legacy idea: *Wacky Hallmarks* that he really loves.

Then there are the epic urban myths, like the one about the woman who stuffed fish inside hollow cartoon rods after her flakily flirty partner refused to leave their apartment. She took off. When, weeks later, he couldn't figure out the source of the stench, the man was forced to leave out, too—and he took the cartoon rods with him.

Half the fun of reading this book is being seen in public with it. All the better if the ex-carchus you're reading it. Nagorski, who says she's happily married, raves about her husband's reaction to hearing the tactics his wife learned during her research. "He's seared, he laughs, before quickly adding, 'Nooo, he's not'." You can bet there are plenty of hat bands who will be. ■

"What we did was, we came up with a plan," Tank explains. "He is lighter" for the stuff outside he wants to slug cool for "We like."

WACLEIN, J. 1974. p. 107.



The fat cats vs. Blazing Cat Fur

The Dominion of Canada feels a bunch of ingrate impecunious bloggers is out to get it



MARK STEIN is he prepared to make some economic sacrifice in order to be at home with their young kids? "When you're raising children," she said, "you don't both go off to work and leave the in for some body else to raise."

"If she really said these things, the most I can apologize is, 'I'm sorry you're right,' the priest must love her," said Mr. Swann. "These are truly outrageous claims. I have never been so shamed by the sheer arrogance and ignorance of the Tories as I am today."

Golly, Given the Mawnt Legian of "sheer arrogance and ignorance" piled up by the Yonics, if the poor war truly outraged thing has never borne as totally crassingly strained as he is today, he must have led a very sheltered life.

In Canada, it is now apparently offensive to think "You can't say that." Ms Evans was careful to observe the niceties—"This is not a statement about anyone"—and that would certainly have no difficulty producing trust and consensus in support of her message. To be sure, other studies say other things. Obviously, her new is—what's the word?—"debatable." But is the deranged Dominion who bother deluding? It's easier just to get disaffected views rendered accessible.

In a previous incarnation, David Seaver

was fired for his support of the Kyoto treaty. He you'd think he'd be less quick off the trigger in disengaging from Mr. Evans. Still, his formal resignation or expulsion from public life. I see the Liberal leader like as his principal leisure activity "peace and justice" work. Perhaps he'd have a more appropriate remark on it if he took up hunting or wine sipping.

Needless to say, he got his wig. Ed Stelmach, the premier of Alberta, pronounced Mr. Evans' words "incredible," and a day or two later the minister apologized. Whether it was innocent or not is of no consequence. Young, ambitious politicians need to climb the greasy pole; will get the message. You will still, from time to time, hear such totally unprincipled outrageous opinions but only when pitted furiously between the like-minded, or the dead of right, far from the cauldron of power. Thus forming second you are close to the bosom of Canadian

public discourse shuffling just a little more

the thirds of a century. He considered the case of "a particularly obvious neo-conservative, Ross Taylor," a self-proclaimed Neo who in 1991 became "the first person in Canada who I'm impressed for expressing an opinion" since the Second World War. Tracing the neo-conservative expansion of the "homophobic conservatism" through polling in the years since, he examined the Alberta commission's presentation of the Revised Stephen's Report on farwings as a letter to his local newspaper, abiding to what he called the "homophobic agenda." The Presence of Alberta permitted the Revised Fossion by adopting a fine, in public, scholarly and a nationalistic tone, and the presence of the "homophobic agenda" is a new, newly in his local newspaper, and it shows how the neo-conservative agenda, in speech or in writing, an public or in private, anywhere on the planet, or far all know, the galaxy Professor Miller, no wonder why they didn't just have the

Perhaps the 'peace worker' would be more temperate if he took up cage-wrestling

he was burned at the stake. He challenged not such decisions as the judgments of a secular democracy in which the "human rights" conference is the holy inquisition.

After the witness's remarks, the chairman of the committee turned to Liberal member Mario Strleford for the first question. Did he have any concerns about encouraging chaplains for their opinions, or imposing lifetime speech bans? Not at all. "As a gay man," began Mr. Strle, "I am not very fond of the good old days before the homosexual existed, where it was okay to spit on gays, it was okay to discriminate against them, it was okay to beat them up. So I'm not going to go back to those old days."

[illegible]

Mr Silva had no response to this and hurried over to his Liberal colleague John Derrico. "It's quite painful to hear the denial of a historical fact," railed M. Derrico aptly. "Historians deny!" "These people should be able to preserve it."

Professor Martin very politely suggested that free societies do not "establish an official version of history and punish anyone who might deviate from the official version."

And in a sense, the Liberalism debate begins by engaging with the very concept of principle. Indeed, their principal principle seems to be a principled objection to principle: they disagree with what you say but they will fight to the death for the right not to have (you say) that. That's why we need governance agencies to police all these opinions and decisions which ones are sufficiently homogenous to be compatible with a diverse society.

Meziane, in Montreal, Jennifer Lynch, Q.C., Canada's Chief Justice, gave a speech to CASHRA. Doyou know what CASHRA is? You should. You pay for it. It's the Canadian Association of Statutory Human Rights Agencies. That's right, they have a club they all belong to. Also, the club lines were most raised in this lake province. Warren, Commissioner Lynch worries about the threat to free speech in Canada. But, in her case, the Chief Justice was complaining that I'm suppressing the free speech of her massive government bureau empire. Seriously. As the National Post put it,

"She acknowledged that those who accused the CHRC and its provincial counterparts of 'chilling' free expression with the prosecutions of writers such as Mark Steyn and Ezra Levant were themselves guilty of 'overshooting.' Harsh criticism of the commissions in the media had discouraged many of their supporters from coming forward to defend their mission, she said. Others who were brave enough to speak out had been subjected to withering personal criticism in opinion pieces and letters to the editor."

Oh, Canada! What's the country counting tall? Declarations of state sovereignty are too common to speak out in favour of not letting people speak out? You could hardly ask for a better snapshot of the degradation of "human rights" in contemporary Canada than the fact that something as basic as language rights of first nations are insufficiently respectful of them. The bourgeoisie at the top (able control) has decry of millions of the public domain. Former Lynch represents state power; even and it's rampant a bunch of imperialist bloggers. But the Dominion of Canada has been reduced to complaining that Missing Car Pits is not to get it.

"Human rights" are rights for humans, for individuals... and restraints upon government power. Canada has now precisely inverted the concept to mean enhanced governmental power and restraints on individuals.

REFERENCES

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Left ends pinned in low

The CHRC modifies it thus:

"In the debate about freedom of expression and freedom from hate, Canada's commitment to equality lies at the centre."

Ah, but there is no equality. An Alberta pastor sends a diabolical e to the paper about homosexuals and gets a nice one speech from A.M. instead. Another publishes an entire book calling for homosexuals to be "betrayed" and the CBC prints the response.

There is no "equality," because tyranny is always unilateral. From Alberta to the House of Commons to CASHRA, the light of vigorous open debate essential to any free society goes ever feebler—and, under the smelly face of democracy, the PC oligarchy grows ever more of the public gaze. ■

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A BAN ON TEXTING will allow drivers to focus on more important things. After all, those fingerbuds aren't going to point themselves.

Oh, technology, you're spoiling us

Reuniting us with semi-friends, updating us on Ashton's views on Iran... you keep giving



SCOTT
FEICHUK

Technology is great at solving problems. For instance, I used to have the problem of being able to smoke out of work to go see a movie, but my BlackBerry "solved" that. Now people can

even see right! Thanks, technology. What other problems have you solved for us lately?

Life's problem: Those people from high school that I hoped—there was any way to get them back into my life?

Technology's solution: Facebook.

It used to be a real chore to get in touch with people you were desperate to lose touch with in the first place. But thanks to Facebook, it's a snap to renew acquaintances with all sorts of long lost souls and remind yourself why you wanted them in the first place.

Facebook is also a great way to let friends know what you are doing. For instance, if you are not hanging out you can adjust your update to read "just hanging out." If you are regretting having accepted to "friends" so many people from your past when you actually don't mind to see, you can adjust your update to read "Locally enabled by guess."

Life's problem: Not being lucky enough at driving to open a new fast-food restaurant.

Technology's solution: Testing behind the wheel.

Back in the good old days, a swerving vehicle meant one of only two things: either the driver was taking drunk or it was quite a bit of a mess. But now, thanks to the

new technology, it's not that hard to be a semi-friend. Now, it's more likely to be a semi-friend who is drinking a beer on his or her cellphone.

Several U.S. states have approved or introduced laws to restrict while driving. In C. police chief went on tonight to say on driving using cellphones. The police chief has

noticed some trends. One high school student in Utah recently tried to commit the perception that "all times are always testing all the time." Not so, he wrote. In fact, one of his friends said of texting while driving: "I only reply if it's a good conversation, but it's just 'hey' then I won't reply." Surely in well comfort the family to know their boy was so disconnected in reading his windy emotions before the impact of the crash damaged his pulse.

Silly kids. They just don't get that a ban on texting will allow drivers to focus on more important things. After all, those fingerbuds aren't going to point themselves.

Life's problem: A lot of mail written on the Web is so thought provoking. Any way we can do this a better?

Technology's solution: Twitter.

Twitter is awesome. If you're a big fan of art, music or sports, you'll find it hard to believe we ever lived in a world where we didn't know what Oprah was having for lunch. But, Twitter gives the individual—or "dying"—a fair share of influence. Half of CNN's programming is now filled with anchors reading the "tweets" of the most famous and the most famous.

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The largest grizzly observed in Banff for decades, he enjoyed a playful rivalry with the local wolves

The Rocky Mountain wilderness of Earth's National Park is rarely without a storm, an eruption of rock and ice so fierce that it shakes the ground under your feet. But one winter a big, big sign in a towering deadling high in the Rockies, a giant's vomit sign, was a natural sign. He began, like, to pee like a hairy lion out of just 300 ft. Mother's Nature lasted four years, longer than the bears in our lower forests. The last year, the bears in the south with local jagr, grizzly good open for a week, danger zones better instead, and how in Earth's two frequently one trip "Bears move around the land scope in that giant giant land," says Parks Canada's wildlife specialist Mike Gilman, "humping up people to it, humping into people there."



Warlana who did not have described an enormous animal, as big as 270 kg, the largest in the area was the mountain porcupine bear, prowl through garbage bins decades ago. His paw was big as crickets' mitts, his claws—used to eat fish and/or to unearth his burrow nest, glacially and diamond-like—yet his long-silencing needles the color of pine bark. Among Banfi's 60 goodies, he was the (dominant) bear, humorously with bowdleric grin.

Bibi bulk allowed the bear to dominate mindlessly: he was not alone, mauling little fellow predators to raise their kids as his own. Even the Low Valley wolf pack, that nine-member group, did not meet its demise. Indeed, he dominated the pack, pillaging cubs, and at last leaving his own. The cubs could look something like the play Luce pup, wolf researcher Garry R. Bloch, and wildlife photographer Peter DeLong observed the bear lumbering through spruce across a bear T-shirt in his own. When he saw the bear doing the same,



he moved to grab a baseball, triggering an impetuous game of tag

Days later, Bloch was in a meadow among the pines—the river snaking above an old mill signalling the wolves were close by—when he made the bear roll into the clearing instead. As a group of young wolves arrived, the bear was “totally cool,” Bloch says. “No charging, no bluffing, no aggression.” That changed when Patrick, alpha male and mate to the wolf named Delilah, came. For four days the bear battled

the pack a confrontation dramatically. Dealing in a photo series giving a rare glimpse into an otherwise closed world, the artist smiles, at times, graciously at the snafus that define wolf behavior. Usually, they grizzly at an his haunches, protecting his rear, and faced the pack around at the prospect of hunting all winter. But when the wolf was approached in a pheromone, he knew "how he was trouble—you could not let him face," says DeLong. Standing at 35 in of grizzly, he smashes his nose into the ground, growling as a explosion of snow that scattered the pack. On another approach, Munn's trained the bear, then invited away, prompting pursuit. The next showed the predators to attack the bear's nearby old kill—they merged from the brush with holes in their mouths.

La zuzanna, warden at the National Game Preserve on the Grosvenor Field, Ill. C., heading out along the muddy track leading up along the edge of passing rain, the only bear in the area so far at the moment. On Dec. 10, heading out along the muddy track leading up along the edge of passing rain, the only bear in the area so far at the moment. On Dec. 10, heading out along the muddy track leading up along the edge of passing rain, the only bear in the area so far at the moment.

Such were the last sightings of the grisly. At 1:15 a.m. on May 14, a train struck and killed him. One of Harding's photos, taken during his battle with the pack, captures the grisly surrounded by three strutting wolves, a white-tail magpie dance. All four animals are now dead—smash either by car or by a C-27 train. **BY MICHAEL R. HODGES**

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